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VOLUME TWO

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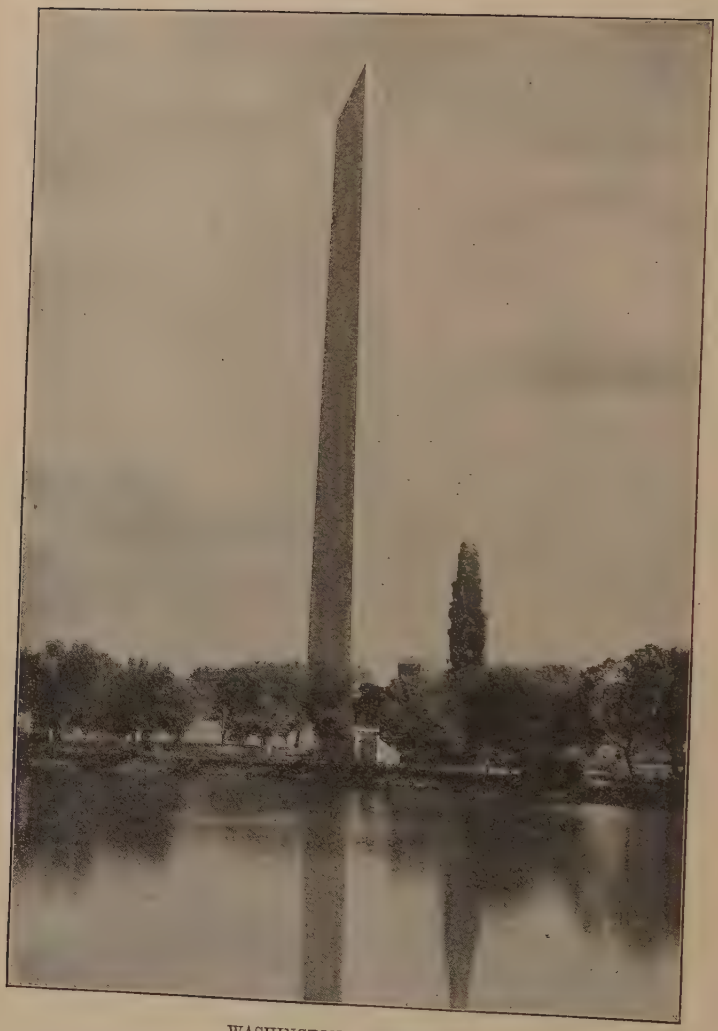


WASHINGTON MONUMENT

Erected by the people of the United States in honor of the character and achievements of George Washington. Begun in 1848, completed in 1884.

PART ONE

ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

1788–1800

PART ONE

ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER I

BEGINNING UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

1788-1789

Suggestions for Study.—With this volume the student enters upon the study of the nation's growth under its permanent form of government. A knowledge of the Constitution of the United States is essential to a thorough understanding of this and the following chapters. If you are not familiar with the Constitution, study it in connection with the text, and compare it with the Articles of Confederation (Sections 312–315).

Draw a map and sketch upon it the boundaries of the United States as fixed by the treaty of 1783.

Compare the methods used at the first presidential election with those now in vogue, and notice what changes have been made.

---

326. The First Election.—On receiving notice that the requisite nine states had ratified the Constitution, Congress proceeded to arrange its affairs for a final adjournment. On September 13, 1788, a resolution was passed, designating the first Wednesday in January, 1789, for appointing electors in all states that had ratified the Constitution; the first Wednesday in February for the electors to assemble in their respective states and vote for a president, and the first Wednesday in March[1] for

[1] This day happened to fall on the fourth of March, and three years later Congress by law fixed upon this day for the beginning of each administration, so that March 4 in each year following a presidential election is Inauguration Day.

the inauguration of the new government. Congress was sitting in New York, and that city was made the temporary capital. The most important domestic affairs, as well as those pending with foreign nations, were referred to the new government. At sunset on March 3, 1789, the fire of thirteen guns announced the end of the Confederation, and the same number of guns at sunrise the following morning proclaimed the beginning of the Federal Union.

OVATION TO WASHINGTON AT TRENTON
[From a panel in bronze door at entrance to the Capitol, Washington. Designed by Thomas Crawford.]

Before the day appointed for choosing electors, eleven states had ratified the Constitution, North Carolina and Rhode Island still withholding their approval. The Constitution provided that each state should choose its own method of appointing electors. In some states the electors were chosen by the legislature, in others by election on a general ticket and in still others by election by districts. New York made no choice, because of dissension in the legislature. Representatives and senators had also been chosen in each of the eleven states. In

some, all representatives were elected on a general ticket and in others they were elected by districts. In all, the custom that a member of the House shall be a resident of the district from which he is chosen was established. From the eleven states there were returned fifty-nine representatives and twenty-two senators.

WASHINGTON'S ENTRY INTO NEW YORK CITY, 1789
[From an old engraving.]

327. Organization of Congress.—It was expected that the Congress would convene in New York on March 4, but means of communication and travel were poor, and the members elect had not shaken off the lethargy of the old Congress; so on the appointed day only thirteen representatives and eight senators had arrived. On March 30 thirty representatives—just a quorum—were present,

and the House organized, electing Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, speaker.[1] On April 6 the Senate organized, electing John Langdon, of New Hampshire, president, "for the sole purpose of opening and counting the votes for president of the United States."

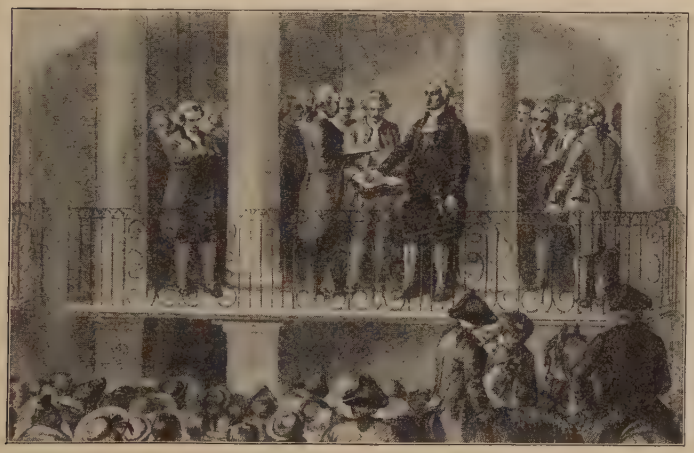
328. Counting the Electoral Vote.—The two houses of Congress immediately met in joint assembly and counted the votes that had been cast by the electors in February. Washington received the unanimous vote and was declared president. John Adams received the next highest number and became vice-president,[2] and messengers were at once dispatched to the successful candidates to notify them of their election. Meantime both branches of Congress proceeded to perfect their respective organizations by adopting rules of procedure and appointing such standing committees as seemed necessary. With such additions and minor modifications as the growth of the country has made necessary, these rules and committees are still in force.

329. Inauguration of Washington. — On receiving from Congress notification of his election, Washington left Mount Vernon April 16 for New York. His journey was a triumphal march. People thronged the road and shouted his praises. At the Pennsylvania line he was

[1] The speaker was given only the powers of a presiding officer, the power to appoint committees being conferred upon this official some years later.

[2] The electors did not vote for vice-president as at the present time, but, according to the original provision of the Constitution, the person receiving the highest number of votes was elected president, and the one receiving the next highest number became vice-president (see Constitution, Article XII of Amendments).

met by the governor of the state with a military escort. At Philadelphia, where he was banqueted and fêted, he rode beneath triumphal arches. As he crossed the bridge at Trenton, where he had encountered the forces of Cornwallis, young girls walked before him, strewing his path with flowers. At Elizabeth Point he was met



INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON
[From an old engraving.]

by committees of Congress and conveyed to New York in a barge rowed by thirteen pilots in white uniform. Here his arrival was announced by the booming of cannon and the ringing of bells. Declining a carriage, he walked from the pier to his house, accompanied by Governor Clinton. "He was dressed in the familiar buff and blue, and as the people caught sight of the stately figure and the beloved colors, hats went off and the crowd

bowed as he went by, bending like ripened grain when the summer wind passes over it, and breaking into loud and repeated cheers." [1]

The inauguration occurred April 30. Adams had arrived a few days previous and taken his seat as president of the Senate. Washington went in procession to

WASHINGTON DELIVERING INAUGURAL ADDRESS, 1789

Federal Hall,[2] where he was received in the Senate chamber. Thence, followed by the members of Congress, he proceeded to the balcony, where the oath of office was administered by Robert R. Livingston, chancellor of the State of New York. Besides the members

[1] Lodge, *George Washington*, vol. ii.

[2] Federal Hall was formerly the old City Hall of New York. It was refitted and rechristened for the use of the new government. The building stood on the site of the present Treasury building, in Wall Street, at the head of Broad.

of Congress, there were standing about him the vice-president, Alexander Hamilton, Baron Steuben, Roger Sherman and Generals St. Clair and Knox. Washington stepped forward, placed his hand upon the Bible, and as the oath was concluded by the chancellor, said solemnly: "I swear, so help me God"; then he bent and reverently kissed the book. Chancellor Livingston exclaimed: "It is done! Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" and amid the shouts of the assembled throng the president and members of Congress returned to the Senate chamber, where Washington delivered his inaugural address. The legislative and executive departments of the government were organized; the judiciary department must await further legislation, but the United States was placed under a central government whose authority was supreme and whose influence was to extend to its remotest bounds.

QUESTIONS

How was the number of representatives to which each state was entitled in the First Congress determined?

How did the electors then vote for president?

Why did the inhabitants of Trenton confer special honors upon Washington?

Was Washington's ability as a military commander the principal reason for his unanimous choice for president? What reason have you for your opinion?

Why did the presiding officer of the House receive the title of *speaker*?

REFERENCES

A good account of Washington's inauguration is found in Lodge's *George Washington*, vol. ii, chs. i and ii.

Hart's *Formation of the Union*, ch. vii, treats in a clear and concise manner the topics discussed in this and the following chapter. Washington's inaugural addresses are given in *Old South Leaflets*, no. 10.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Presidential electors appointed in the states,	Jan., 1789
First electoral vote cast	Feb., 1789
Close of the Confederation	Mar. 3, 1789
Organization of the first national House of Representatives	Mar. 30, 1789
Organization of first national Senate	Apr. 6, 1789
Inauguration of Washington	Apr. 30, 1789

CHAPTER II

COMPLETING THE ORGANIZATION

1789-1792

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—The social and industrial conditions briefly discussed in this chapter are important and should receive further attention in your supplementary reading.

In connection with the organization of the government, study that part of the Constitution that provides for the several departments.

The First and Second Congresses established the forms for our political practice; therefore this chapter is of great importance and the student will need to refer to it frequently. The subjects treated should be thoroughly understood at this time.

Form a comprehensive idea of the financial situation, then consider Hamilton's measures from two points of view: (a) in relation to the financial condition of the government; (b) as a means of strengthening the government by binding the people to it through a financial interest in its success.

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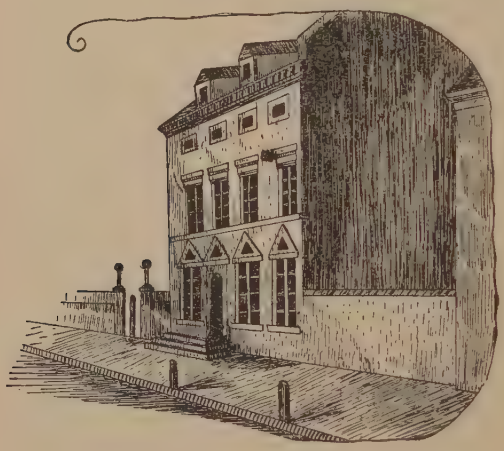
330. Condition of the Country.—1. POPULATION.—Let us take a brief survey of the nation over which the new government was called to preside. The first census, taken in 1790, showed the entire population of the country to be nearly 4,000,000, of which 750,000, or nearly one-fifth of the whole, were negroes. Probably four-fifths of the white population were of English descent, and the English language was universally spoken. North of Mason and Dixon's Line, which formed the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, was a population of 1,968,000, and south of it was one of 1,925,000. Most of the negroes were in the

southern section, and those states which were to continue the institution of slavery were nearly equal in population to the New England and Middle states. Nearly all of this population lay between the mountains and the coast, the western line of settlement, though irregular, having an average distance of two hundred fifty-five miles from the sea. Less than one hundred thirty-two thousand people lived in towns of eight thousand or more inhabitants, and only five cities, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Baltimore and Charleston, had a population of ten thousand or more, while two others, Salem, Mass., and Newport, R. I., exceeded five thousand each.



THE PRESIDENTIAL MANSION IN 1789
Formerly standing at the corner of Pearl and Cherry Streets, New York City, where now rests one of the piers of Brooklyn Bridge.

The westward movement of settlements had broken through the mountain barriers along four routes—the Mohawk Valley, the upper Potomac, Cumberland Gap in southwestern Virginia, and western Georgia. The Mohawk Valley was settled, and considerable land had

been taken up on Lake Ontario and along its tributary rivers and lakes. In Pennsylvania the western slopes of the Alleghenies were settled on the lower levels, and there were thriving settlements at and around Pittsburg. In the Northwest Territory there were a few white settlers at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Detroit, Prairie du Chien, Michilimackinac and Green River, the most important frontier outposts. There were a few pioneers scattered through what is now West Virginia; in Kentucky were a number of settlements bordering on the Ohio; a few log huts on the opposite bank marked the site of Cincinnati, and in Tennessee there was a prosperous and growing community on the present site of Nashville.

2. Travel and Commerce.—There was not in the world a railroad, steamboat, telegraph or telephone. Roads were few and wretched. It took Washington seven days to travel from Mount Vernon to New York. Most communication was by messengers or by letters, and mail facilities were extremely poor; under favorable conditions it required two days for mail from Philadelphia to reach New York, and this was the best mail route in the country. Whenever possible, travel was by water; otherwise on horseback or by coach. The country boasted forty-three newspapers, two of which were dailies.

3. Industries.—Agriculture was the leading industry. In the New England and Middle states the farm-

ers raised wheat, oats, rye, potatoes and flax, and such live stock as was necessary to supply their needs. The farms were small, seldom exceeding one hundred acres; all work was done by hand and with the simplest tools. Land was plowed with a single horse or ox plow. Corn was dropped by hand and covered with the hoe. Grass was cut with the scythe, and grain with the sickle. Thrashing in most cases was done with the flail, but on

THREE HISTORIC BUILDINGS IN PHILADELPHIA
In the center, Independence Hall as it appeared when erected in 1733; at left, the City Hall, erected in 1792; at right, Congress Hall, erected in 1789. [From a model.]

some of the largest farms animals were employed to tread out the grain in a manner similar to that of the thrashing floors of old. The relations with England immediately following the war had developed a strong sentiment against importation of English goods, and the women of the households in the Northern and the Middle states spun wool and flax and wove the cloth for the family apparel. In the South tobacco and rice were

extensively grown, and cotton was cultivated to some extent, the first recorded exportation of the latter being about 1747. The slaves were not trained to skilled labor, and after 1786, when cotton production assumed importance, most of the product was sent to England to be made into cloth.[1] The home training of the people in New England and the Middle states enabled them to adapt themselves readily to manufacturing, and as the country developed they began to buy cotton from the South. At first this was spun and woven by hand. In 1790 Samuel Slater set up at Pawtucket, R. I., the first machinery for spinning cotton yarn. A little iron was manufactured in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, but most of that in use came from England. Anthracite coal had been discovered, but no use had been made of it. Petroleum was unknown, and houses were lighted by whale-oil lamps, candles, or wicks suspended in vessels of grease.

There was an active commerce between the different states and with European countries, which occasioned an excellent demand for American ships. The people were frugal and industrious, and with confidence in the ability of the new government to lead the nation safely through the difficulties besetting it, they looked forward hopefully to an era of national growth and prosperity.

[1] It is important to remember that at this time cotton cloth was rarely used, even in the older countries, and its manufacture was therefore of slight importance, when compared with linen and woolen manufacture. Soon after 1790, however, the increase in the production of cotton led to its wider use and general manufacture.

331. Departments Established. — The Constitution gives the president authority to require in writing the opinion of the principal officers of the executive departments on matters pertaining to their respective offices,[1] and that is the only reference made to these departments in the document. It implies, however, the power to establish such departments, and under the Continental Congress a post office department and departments of finance, war and foreign affairs had been maintained. In July Congress established the Department of Foreign Affairs, afterwards changed to the Department of State, the Department of War, the Department of the Treasury and the office of Attorney-General. The heads of the departments were styled secretaries, having conferred upon them the same title which they bore under the old Congress.

1. Department of State.—The Department of State originated under the Continental Congress in the creation of a Committee of Foreign Correspondence in 1775. Six years later this was changed to the Department of Foreign Affairs, and Robert R. Livingston was its first secretary, being succeeded by John Jay. The new department was established on very much the same basis and under the same name as the old, but this was soon changed to the Department of State, which name it has since borne. It is considered the most important department in the government, and its secretary is at the head of the president's cabinet.

[1] Constitution, Art. II, Sec. 2, Clause 1.

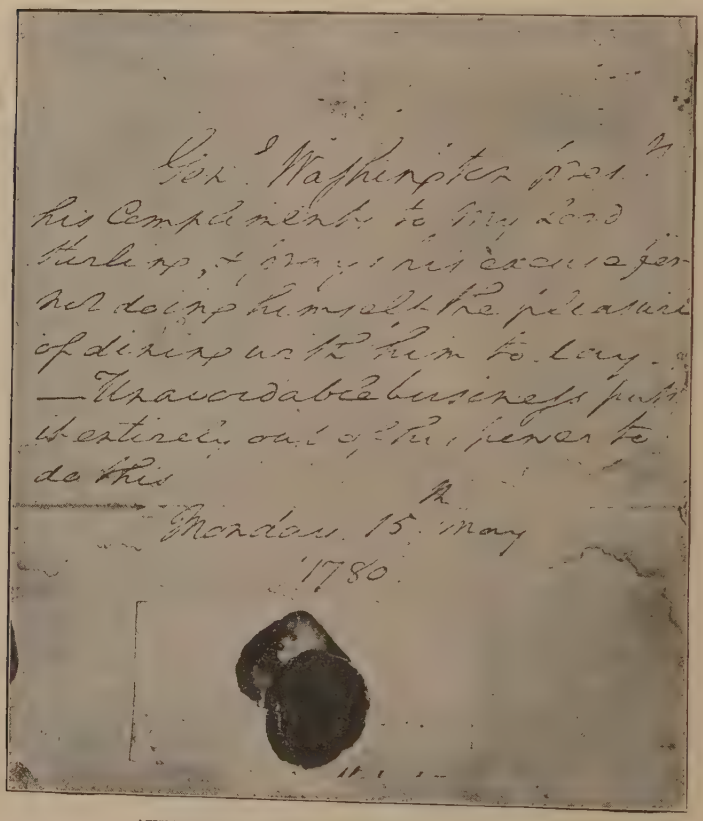
2. Department of the Treasury.—Under the Confederation the financial affairs of the government had been managed by a Treasury Board of Commissioners and a Superintendent of Finance. In the new department the executive head was, under the president, made responsible for the conduct of the treasury's affairs, and this was a great improvement. A law was also passed making any one engaged in trade or commerce ineligible to the office of Secretary of the Treasury.

3. Department of War.—Under the Confederation military affairs had also been conducted by special committees, known at first as a Secret Committee, a Cannon Committee and a Medical Committee. These were finally combined into the Board of War and of Ordnance, consisting of five members of Congress, and to this was added the Board of War, consisting of five generals of the army, acting under the congressional board.[1] As first established, the war department was required to take charge of all matters of national offense and defense, whether on land or sea. As there was no navy, the necessity for a navy department had not arisen, and this department was not created until 1798.

4. Department of Justice.—The office of Attorney-General was at first honorary. He was the legal adviser of the president and heads of departments, but could reside wherever he pleased and had plenty of leisure to continue in his private practice. With the gradual

[1] John W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy.*

growth of the nation, the duties of the office increased until they required his full time. In 1859 he was given an assistant. In 1861 he was given supervision of all



AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF GEORGE WASHINGTON
[From the original.]

United States district attorneys and marshals, and in 1870 his department was reorganized as the Department of Justice.

5. Post Office Department.—This is the oldest of all the executive departments, dating from 1710, when Parliament provided a uniform postal system for all the colonies, with the general office at New York. This arrangement continued until 1776, when Congress established a postal system planned by Benjamin Franklin, who had been the ablest of the postmasters-general during the colonial period. He was also made postmaster-general and given the opportunity to carry his system into effect. The postal system already established was continued by the new government, and the department as now existing was not established until 1794. The Postmaster-General was not given a seat in the cabinet until 1829.

6. Later Departments.—As the development of the country has required them, other executive departments have been created. The Department of the Interior was established in 1849; the Department of Agriculture in 1889, and the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903.

332. The Cabinet.—The heads of the executive departments are popularly known as the president's cabinet, but the organization has no legal status. The members are appointed by the president, with the consent of the Senate, and he may consult them singly or in a body. Washington's first cabinet consisted of four members: Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state; Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury; Henry Knox, secretary

of war, and Edmund Randolph, attorney-general. It is doubtful if any cabinet since has contained an equal proportion of such able men.

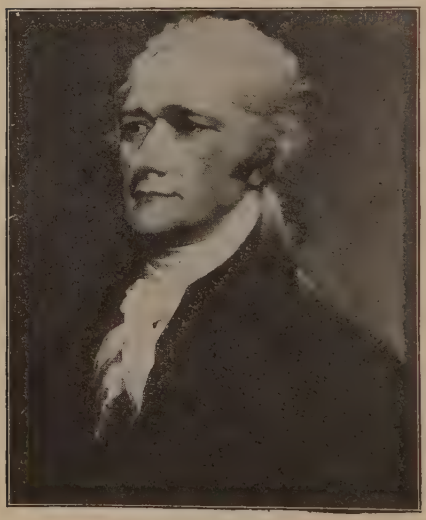
The two on whom the heaviest burdens fell, Jefferson and Hamilton, were politically opposites. Jefferson was thoroughly democratic, and his five years' residence in France just before the revolution had given him a strong bias in favor of the principles and sentiments of the revolutionary party, whose leaders had considered him as their counselor and friend. He had no hand in framing the Constitution, but heartily sanctioned its adoption, because he believed it a necessity and the best that could be drafted at the time. However, he considered it dangerous to the liberties of the people to confer so great power upon the national government.

HENRY KNOX
[From a painting by Charles Wilson Peale, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

He was a man of uncommon judgment and far-sightedness in practical affairs. His public experience both at home and abroad was such as to fit him especially for organizing that department of the government which was to conduct our affairs with foreign nations. He came home in 1789 with the expectation of being returned in a short time to his former post as minister to France, and was not at first inclined to look favorably upon Washington's invitation to become secretary of state. However, he finally yielded to the entreaties of Washington and Madison and assumed the duties of his office in March, 1790, nearly a year after the government was organized. During this time Jay had acted as secretary of state, with the understanding that he was to become chief justice when the judicial department was organized.

As all looked to Washington as the one man supremely qualified to organize the government and lead the nation safely through the first perilous years of its new life, so all looked upon Alexander Hamilton as the only man to accomplish successfully the difficult task essential to the nation's existence—that of placing it upon a sound financial basis at home and restoring its credit abroad. Hamilton was one of the most ardent supporters of the Constitution and a believer in a strong national government. He was aristocratic in his tendencies, sought to ally the wealthy classes with the government and doubted the ability of the common people to rule

wisely. He possessed a wonderful grasp of affairs and an unusual ability to analyze the complex problems of government and to set forth the leading issues with clearness and force. It was undoubtedly fortunate for the country that most of his great measures had become a part of the laws of the land before Jefferson entered the cabinet, as his opposition would have caused delay and possibly would have defeated some of the most essential policies.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON
[From a painting by John Trumbull, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.]

333. The Practice of Congress.— Congress at its first session adopted certain practices which have been followed until this day. The Constitution provided that the vice-president should be president of the Senate, and that that body should choose a president *pro tempore* and such other officers as seemed necessary. In accordance with this provision, the Senate organized by choosing John Langdon president *pro tempore* before the arrival of the vice-president. The other officers agreed upon were a secretary, doorkeeper, sergeant-at-arms and

chaplain. Since then a chief clerk, an executive clerk and assistant doorkeepers and sergeants-at-arms have been added as the volume of business increased. The House of Representatives chose a speaker from its own number, but the other officers were not members. They were similar to those of the Senate, but the chief recording officer was styled a clerk. It was also provided that the clerk should hold over and preside at the election of the speaker for the succeeding Congress. By this plan the continuity of the House was preserved without conferring upon any member the advantage that might arise from the election of a temporary chairman.

334. Financial Measures.—1. Revenue Bill.—As soon as Congress was in working order the House began to consider the state of the Union. The government was not only in debt and without money, but was even without resources. As an immediate means of relief, Madison proposed placing duties on foreign imports and on the tonnage of foreign vessels, urging immediate action, that the government might derive revenue from the imports that would come to the country in large quantities that spring. His resolution led to a prolonged and somewhat bitter debate on the tariff, in which most of the arguments since used for and against it were advanced. Fortunately, the measure passed, and gave the treasury sufficient revenue nearly to pay the running expenses of the government.

2. Public Debt.—But by far the greatest burden rested upon Hamilton, who was required to provide plans by which the public debt should be paid, a permanent and increasing revenue secured and a money system established. Hamilton began work upon his plan as soon as he entered upon the duties of his office,

FEDERAL HALL, NEW YORK
The room in which the First Congress met.

and had completed it before the opening of the second session of Congress, in 1790. In his first report to Congress he stated that the public debts were of three kinds —the foreign debt, amounting to nearly $12,000,000; the domestic debt, amounting to about $42,500,000, and the state debts, amounting to about $25,000,000, a grand

total of nearly $80,000,000. Hamilton recommended that the government should assume and pay all these accounts.

His plan provided for paying the foreign debt and interest with the proceeds of a new loan, and for refunding the domestic and state debts on such a basis that the interest would be reduced and the debt would gradually be liquidated. Hamilton estimated that this could be done with the income received from the duties on teas, coffees and spirituous liquors and from an excise tax.

THE GRANGE
Home of Alexander Hamilton, at the corner of Tenth Avenue and One Hundred Third Street, New York.

Congress voted unanimously to pay the foreign debt, but the propositions to pay in full the domestic debt and to assume the state debts met with strong opposition and led to a long and somewhat acrimonious debate. The greater part of the domestic debt was in so-called certificates of indebtedness, issued during the war and in the years following. These passed as currency and had depreciated so much that at one

time it was worth less than one cent on the dollar. A part of these certificates were in the hands of capitalists and speculators, who had purchased them of the original owners in the belief that at some time they would appreciate in value. However, previous to Hamilton's report there was little prospect of such appreciation, and most of the holders would have been glad to dispose of these certificates at almost any price. On the day set for the presentation of this report to the House the galleries were crowded with the residents of New York, among whom were many holders of government securities. Hamilton's recommendation led these capitalists to believe that the paper would be redeemed at its face value, and they immediately sent messengers to all parts of the country to buy up certificates before the news of this report could reach the people. The day following the report the value of certificates in New York advanced fifty per cent, and wherever the secretary's recommendation became known the value was proportionately increased.

Those opposed to paying the domestic debt in full argued that most of the paper was in the hands of speculators who had bought it for almost nothing, that those to whom the debt was originally due would derive little or no benefit from its full payment and that the speculators were entitled to no more than what they had paid out. Since prices had been advanced in proportion as securities had appreciated, the redemption at cur-

rent value would in a large measure give the holders just compensation. Therefore they advocated paying only the original holders the face value of certificates, giving others the market price at which it had been purchased, adding that if the debt were paid in full, the balance should go to the original holders. Even Madison, who up to this time had been Hamilton's stanch supporter, favored this measure. The objectors also claimed that any refunding scheme meant financial ruin to the country, citing Spain, Great Britain and other European nations whose debts had greatly increased under refunding schemes.

To these arguments Hamilton and his supporters replied that the certificates of indebtedness were issued by the Confederation in good faith; that at the time of issue they stood for what they represented, namely, face value; that the redemption of certificates at face value was a sacred obligation, not to meet which was to violate the most fundamental principles of business policy and honor and to arbitrarily secure through national edict that which no court on earth had power to accomplish. The fact that certificates had changed hands and were held by capitalists and speculators did not enter at all into the question. As to the dangers arising from the refunding scheme, they showed that the conclusions drawn were merely theoretical and that they were wholly illogical and unwarranted, since the conditions in the countries cited and those in the United

States were so entirely different that they could not be considered as parallel cases. The recommendation to pay the debt in full was finally adopted.

To the assumption of the state debts there was a still more strenuous opposition. Some states, particularly Virginia, had already paid quite a portion of their war debt, and these states claimed that they should not be called upon to assist in paying the debt of those still delinquent. But by far the strongest opposition came from those who saw in this measure a means of strengthening the national government at the expense of the state governments. They argued that the national government had no right to assume the debts of the states. They claimed, and justly, that the assumption of these debts by the Federal government would give it a power over the states not warranted by the Constitution, and which it should not exercise. These objectors saw at once that were the debts of the states assumed by the Federal government those interested in the payments would have their interest transferred from the state to the nation. Hamilton, who was a strong Federalist, undoubtedly pressed the measure all the more closely for this very reason. Most of the debt was in the Northern states, and in general these states favored the measure, while the Southern states opposed it. Before the vote was taken in the House, representatives from North Carolina, which had recently ratified the Constitution, were seated, and this gave the opposition a majority.

For a time the measure seemed doomed, and probably it would have been lost had not another question engaged the interest of the House.

COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY RELICS

Franklin's air pump; his insulating stool; table upon which the Virginia Declaration of Rights was written; alarm bell used at Valley Forge; chair once owned by William Penn. Now in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

A bill to locate a permanent capital had been introduced and aroused all the local sentiment and pride of certain individual states, and of the northern and southern sections of the Union as well. Should the new cap-

ital be located in New York or Pennsylvania, or in Maryland or Virginia? The New England and Middle states wanted it in the North, and preferred New York or Philadelphia. The Southern states wanted it in the South. Meantime, Hamilton had mustered all his forces, but in the final vote upon the question of the assumption of state debts had been defeated by a majority of two. Yet he was both determined and resourceful. Jefferson had recently entered the cabinet, and, it is stated, Hamilton, after explaining the situation and emphasizing the importance of its adoption, had urged him to use his influence in securing some Southern votes in favor of the financial measure. Jefferson claimed ignorance, but invited Hamilton to dine with him the next day. On this occasion several members of Congress were present, and the matter was thoroughly discussed. Hamilton agreed that if enough votes from the Southern members could be secured in favor of his measure, he in turn would secure enough Northern votes to locate the capital on the Potomac. The deal, as we would now call it, was consummated. The capital was located for ten years at Philadelphia, then permanently at Washington; the state debts were assumed by the national government. The result was good, but the method of bringing it about was unfortunate, to say the least, since it established a precedent for the log-rolling that has characterized every subsequent Congress.

3. The Excise.—During the first year the custom officers collected $1,900,000. This sum paid about two-thirds of the running expenses of the government. To meet future contingencies and also to assist in liquidating the debt, Hamilton proposed to lay an excise tax on spirituous liquors and to establish a bank. The excise bill was the boldest stroke of Hamilton's policy. The levying of duties was expected, and the revenue bill met with practically no opposition, but an excise tax was universally hated. The people remembered that such a tax was the principal cause of the Revolutionary War and was considered one of the most detestable financial measures of the British government. True, under the Confederation several states had laid excises, but these were taxes laid and collected by the home government for home purposes. The people had not yet become accustomed to the new Federal government. Many looked upon it almost as if it were a foreign power, and, notwithstanding the fact that the Constitution conferred upon the government the power to lay and collect excise taxes, the people were not willing that it should exercise this prerogative. Opposition developed in New England, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and especially in Pennsylvania, where, three years later, an attempt to enforce the law in the western counties led to open resistance, which was quelled only by the presence of Federal troops. After a long debate the measure was passed, and

from that time on it has continued to be a policy of the government.

4. National Bank.—The excise bill was followed by another creating a national bank. This measure was attacked by Jefferson, Madison and others, on the ground that it was unconstitutional. They cited as their authority, Article X of the Amendments[1] recently adopted. Hamilton and his followers replied that the power was implied in the clause, "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers. . . ."[2] Hamilton argued that this clause gave Congress the right to enact such laws and establish such institutions as were necessary to the successful accomplishment of the measures it might adopt, and that it was not confined to the narrow limit of powers specifically prescribed in the Constitution. This theory, here expressed for the first time by Hamilton, is known as "loose construction" of the Constitution. The view of his opponents concerning the powers of the national government was based upon so-called "strict construction" of the Constitution. Upon the difference between these views of the instrument has rested much of the division and contention of political parties throughout our history (see Section 352). More potent than Constitutional arguments, however, were Hamil-

[1] "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the state are reserved to the states respectively or to the people."

[2] Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, Clause 18.

ton's appeals to the common sense of Congress and the people—his demonstration of the practical advantages of the establishment of a national bank. He showed that such a bank would help restore popular hope and confidence; that the issue of its bank notes would increase the amount of sound and stable circulating medium, greatly facilitating all business transactions without creating a constant drain upon the resources and credit of the government; that the bank would aid in the collection of internal revenue, and that it would powerfully assist the government in borrowing money. His opinion prevailed and the measure became a law.

The bank was chartered for twenty years and started with a capital of $10,000,000, of which $2,000,000 were owned by the government. The bank was located at Philadelphia, with branches in each of the other large cities. It was authorized to issue bank notes, which were made legal tender for debts due the United States and in consequence were accepted at face value all over the country. The bank more than met the expectations of its friends in advancing financial affairs, but its establishment constituted the issue upon which Congress divided into two political parties.

5. The Mint.—The final measure in Hamilton's scheme was the establishment of the United States mint. Under the Confederation not only did each state issue its own money, but Spanish, English and other foreign coins were still commonly used. The confusion

arising from so many independent systems of coinage was a great embarrassment to trade, and the Constitution gave the national government sole power to coin money. Along with the mint, which was located at Philadelphia, was inaugurated our decimal system of coinage, suggested by Jefferson; also the double or bimetallic standard, requiring the coinage of both gold and silver. In this the United States conformed to the money systems of the leading European nations. The establishment of the mint and a system of coinage completed the financial measures necessary to maintain commercial and industrial prosperity at home and to restore our credit abroad.

A GROUP OF COINS
In upper left corner, Bermuda sixpence; at right, chain cent of 1793, first coin issued from United States mint; below, half-eagle of 1822.

During the century and more of our existence, the measures for which Hamilton stood have been thoroughly incorporated into our national life, and we can scarcely realize their magnitude or grasp their far-reaching influence.

The introduction to his report to Congress in 1790 upon government finances concludes with these words:

"To justify and preserve the confidence of the most enlightened friends of good government; to promote the increasing respectability of the American name; to answer the calls of justice; to restore landed property to its due value; to furnish new resources both to agriculture and commerce; to cement more closely the union of the states; to add to their security against foreign attack; to establish public order on the basis of an upright and liberal policy;—these are the great and invaluable ends to be secured by a proper and adequate provision at the present period for the support of public credit."

Hamilton's measures contained a twofold purpose. The first, to place the country on a sound financial basis and restore its credit abroad, was of surpassing magnitude; but so to accomplish this task that it would be made the means of "cementing the union of the states" and establishing those policies that tended to the perpetuity of the government and the lasting peace and prosperity of its citizens was even a greater and a more enduring purpose. By a popular loan he sought

FIRST UNITED STATES MINT
At the corner of Seventh and Filbert Streets. Philadelphia. Established in 1792.

not only to provide means for liquidating the foreign debt, but also to unite the property class of the country in support of the government, both by their political affiliations and their pecuniary interest. Could this be done, Hamilton felt that the success of the new government was assured. His plan was free from all intrigue or misleading details, and it at once met the approval of conservative citizens. From its adoption dates the beginning of that development which, with occasional vicissitudes, has made the United States the foremost industrial and commercial nation of the world.

335. The Judiciary.—Of perhaps greater importance than Hamilton's financial measures was the establishment of the judiciary. By the Constitution this was made one of the three coördinate departments of the government, but its establishment and organization were left to Congress.[1] The bill for organizing the Federal judiciary originated in the Senate, and was largely the work of Senator Ellsworth, of Connecticut. As finally passed, it provided for one Supreme Court, with a Chief Justice and five Associates, and a number of district courts. As far as possible, the boundaries of the judicial districts coincided with those of the states, but an additional district was provided to include the settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. These districts were grouped in three circuits, the eastern, middle and southern. In each district a court composed of local

[1] Constitution, Art. III.

district judges, presided over by a justice of the Supreme Court, was to be held. The measure also provided for district attorneys, clerks and United States marshals. The plan was so well suited to the needs of the country that, with the exception of the appointment of circuit judges in 1801, whose office was abolished in a few months, and such increase in the number of supreme and district judges and changes in the boundaries of districts as the growth of the country made necessary, it continued in force more than eighty years.

The Federal judiciary was entirely independent of the state courts, and the district courts were given both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The Supreme Court was given original jurisdiction in certain cases of a high character and appellate jurisdiction in others. This court was the great legal conservator of the nation, and its most important function was to consist in the interpretation of the Constitution and the laws enacted under it. Its decisions have the force of law and constitute the authority upon which decisions in the lower courts are based. Many commentators on the Articles of Confederation assert that their greatest weakness was the failure to provide for a national judiciary, which should constitute a supreme legal authority, and students agree in regarding the establishment of the judiciary department of the government as the strongest feature in the Federal Constitution.

John Jay was appointed the first chief justice, to be

succeeded by Ellsworth, who a short time before had framed the bill organizing the department over which he was called upon to preside. He was succeeded by John Marshall, the greatest expounder of the Constitution. From the outset the department was made independent of politics, and the mantle which first fell upon John Jay, of whom it was said that he was as pure and spotless as the ermine itself, has never descended upon an unworthy successor. Such has been the influence of our Supreme Court in fixing the relations between the state and national governments, establishing justice and interpreting international law, that it is now regarded as second in prestige to no judicial tribunal in the world.

HOME OF JOHN MARSHALL, RICHMOND

336. Amendments.—As has been shown (Section 325, 2), the Constitution represented a strong reaction from the radical theories of individual liberty which had found expression in the Declaration of Independence and especially in the state constitutions. Almost every one

of these contained a list of specifications known as a "Bill of Rights," not only declaring the general principles of liberty, but guaranteeing to the citizens of the states many privileges of which they claimed to have been deprived by England, and restricting the exercise by the state governments of certain powers capable of being extended so as to endanger the freedom of the people. During the controversy over the adoption of the Constitution, one of the most fruitful sources of opposition and distrust was the lack of such a Bill of Rights, guaranteeing religious liberty, freedom of the press, the right of assembly and of petition, the writ of *habeas corpus* and other common privileges. Several states, led by Massachusetts, had ratified the Constitution only upon the understanding that a list of amendments embodying these ideas should be added as soon as the government was organized. In accordance with this understanding, Congress at its first session proposed twelve amendments. Ten of these were ratified by the states and became a part of the Constitution before 1791.[1] Their purpose is aptly stated by a prominent historian: "They simply placed the Federal Union under bonds, as it were, for good behavior." [2]

337. Territories.—The territorial system of the United States rests on a resolution of the Continental Congress of 1780. This declares that the demesne or territorial

[1] See Constitution, Division *Amendments*.
[2] Schouler, *History of the United States*, vol. i.

lands "shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States and be settled and formed into distinct Republican states which shall become members of the Federal Union and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as other states."[1] Our territorial demesne extended to the Mississippi and was separated by the Ohio into North and South divisions. The government of the North division had in a great measure been provided for in the Ordinance of 1787. This ordinance Congress confirmed. It also provided that not less than three nor more than five states should be formed out of the Northwest Territory. The government of the territories was provided for and the jurisdiction of the Federal courts was extended over them. The plan thus

MARTHA WASHINGTON
An unfinished portrait, painted from life by Gilbert Stuart in 1796. It is now hanging in the Boston Athenaeum.

[1] Schouler, *History of the United States*, vol. i.

early adopted has continued, with but few changes, to form our territorial policy.

338. Precedents Established.—The new government was confronted by many perplexing problems relating directly to the conduct of its own affairs. In the first place, it was organized upon the federal principle, which, though not untried, had been previously applied only to unions of a few small, compact and fully organized states. The new American nation was called to govern a quarter of the continent, divided into thirteen states, scarcely united upon a single important proposition, rent with external and internal discord and jealous of every encroachment of national power. Moreover, in its most essential details the government was new in form, without experience of its own or precedent of others for guidance.

A system of government etiquette must be evoked, and methods of procedure in which the relations of the different parts of the government to one another were defined, must be established. While a few were desirous of following the customs of the British court, the strong democratic sentiment of the great majority was opposed to so doing. They rightly claimed that it would be a violation of the spirit and tendency of American institutions. Whatever was decided upon would have a more than passing significance, because it would form a precedent by which succeeding presidents, secretaries and members of Congress would to a very great extent be governed. This

was fully recognized, and both the executive and legislative departments proceeded with due deliberation.

1. The Executive Department.—Immediately after his induction into office, Washington began a thorough study of the reports and correspondence of the preceding Congress, and within a few months became well informed upon all government affairs. While doing this, he also established the etiquette by which his official household was to be governed. The responsibility he felt in doing this is shown in a private letter written some months after his inauguration. He says:

> "In our progress towards political happiness, my station is new, and, if I may use the expression, I walk on untrodden ground. There is scarcely an action, the motive of which may not be subject to a double interpretation. There is scarcely any part of my conduct which may not hereafter be drawn into precedence."

Washington desired to establish a scheme which would allow him ample time to discharge the official duties of his station, yet to maintain a pleasant social intercourse with other officers of the government and with representatives of foreign countries. He wished to preserve the dignity of his station—to prevent too free an intercourse or too great familiarity upon the one hand, and too great reserve and seclusion upon the other. Accordingly, he outlined a plan and sent copies of it, together with inquiries, to Madison, Jay, Hamilton and the vice-president. As a result, the following plan was adopted: The president would return no calls, and would receive no general visits except on special days. Later, the

visiting day was fixed for Tuesday of each week, and the hour, between three and four in the afternoon. Mrs. Washington held similar receptions on Fridays. A public dinner was also given once a week, to which were invited persons of official rank and distinguished strangers. The president would accept no invitations to dinner. Official visitors were to be received at fixed hours.

LADY WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION

Another important question was the manner in which foreign ministers should be received. The minister of France, Count de Moustier, desired private conferences with the president. Washington politely but firmly suggested that the proper method of official communication with the chief executive was by writing and through the head of the department of state, thus establishing at once and for all future time the method of transacting business with the representatives of foreign countries.

Then, as now, the president was not free from the clamors of office-seekers and their friends. Washington made the rule that in appointments he should be guided only by the public welfare, and that personal friendships and the solicitations of friends would avail nothing unless the applicant was preëminently fitted for the position, in which case solicitations would be unnecessary. The failure of some presidents to follow this reasonable and sensible plan has at times decidedly lowered the standard of our public service.

Washington decided that during his term of office he would visit every section of the Union, and on the adjournment of the first session of Congress he set out on a journey through the eastern states. The trip was uneventful, but it accomplished two important ends—the presence of the chief executive created new enthusiasm for the government wherever he went, and Washington became personally acquainted with the condition of the states which he visited. This plan has frequently been followed by other presidents, and always with good results.

2. The Legislative Department.—One of the first questions which the houses were called upon to settle jointly was the title to be used in addressing the president. It seemed proper that, in accordance with the usage in the British Parliament, a suitable answer should be framed to his inaugural address, and committees in each house were appointed to settle upon the title. The Senate

favored a high-sounding title and recommended "His Highness, the President of the United States and Protector of their Liberties"; but the more democratic opinion of the House prevailed, and the address adopted was "Mr. President."

The fixing of salaries was also necessary, and a long debate ensued before a schedule was finally adopted. The salary of members of Congress was fixed at six dollars a day and mileage, with twelve dollars a day for the speaker during the sessions. In his inaugural address Washington had stated that he desired no compensation for his services, but that he expected his expenses would be paid. The Constitution, however, provided that the president should receive a definite salary, and this was fixed at twenty-five thousand dollars a year, at which figure it remained until Grant's second term, when it was increased to fifty thousand. The vice-president's salary was fixed at five thousand dollars. Modest as these sums seem to us, a torrent of abuse fell upon the members of Congress for their extravagance in placing the salaries at such high figures. Many claimed that the expense of the government would prevent new states

WASHINGTON'S BEDROOM, MOUNT VERNON

from coming into the Union and would work the financial ruin of the country. However, time proved these fears groundless and the salaries were found to be scarcely sufficient to enable congressmen and other government officers to live as became their station.

QUESTIONS

What states now have a population exceeding that of the entire country in 1790?

Why is Mason and Dixon's Line so called?

Why did the western lines of emigration follow the routes mentioned?

What was the state of manufactures in 1790?

Why did Washington select Jefferson for secretary of state?

What is the difference between the department of justice and the judiciary department?

What executive departments have been added to the government since 1790?

State the reasons given for opposing Hamilton's recommendation that the Federal government assume the war debt of the different states.

What trouble was caused by the excise law?

Why was the establishment of a Federal judiciary such an important measure?

Why is the president's cabinet so named?

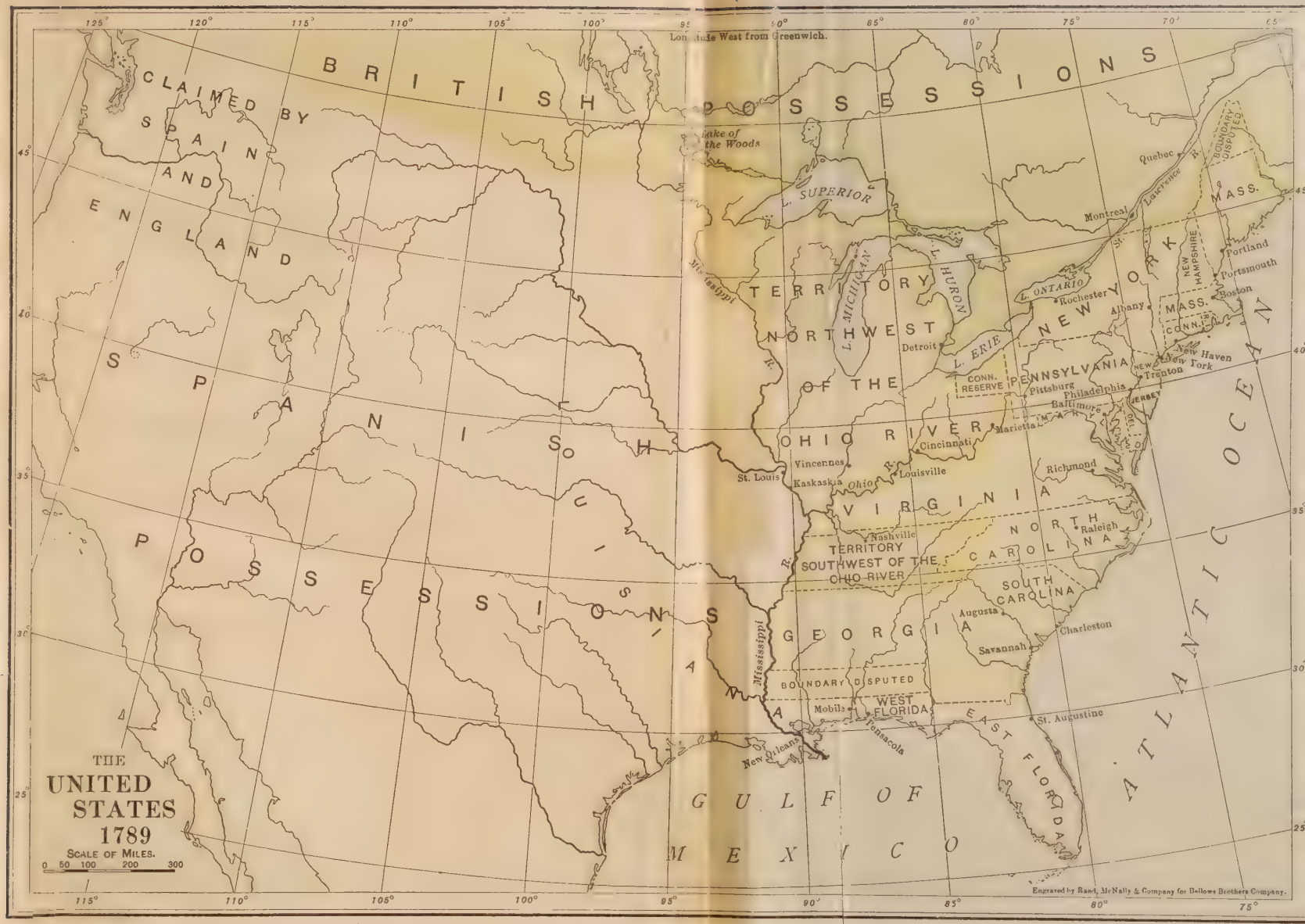
What value do you place upon the work of the First and Second Congresses? Why?

Do the debates in Congress during the period covered by this chapter show the beginning of sectionalism? How do you account for this?

What caused the antagonism between Hamilton and Jefferson?

REFERENCES

A full and trustworthy account of the organization of the government is given in Hart's *Formation of the Union*, pp. 137–151. Hamilton's financial measures are ably discussed by Lodge in his *Alexander Hamilton* (American Statesmen series), pp. 84–135. A more exhaustive account will be found in McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, vol. i, pp. 525–604, and vol. ii, pp. 1–88. The


Longitude West from Greenwich.
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
CLAIMED BY SPAIN AND ENGLAND
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
Lake of the Woods
L. SUPERIOR
L. MICHIGAN
L. HURON
L. ONTARIO
L. ERIE
TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO RIVER
TERRITORY SOUTHWEST OF THE OHIO RIVER
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
St. Lawrence R.
Quebec
Montreal
Rochester
Albany
Detroit
Boston
Portland
Portsmouth
Pittsburg
Philadelphia
Baltimore
New York
New Haven
Trenton
Cincinnati
Marietta
Vincennes
Kaskaskia
St. Louis
Louisville
Richmond
Nashville
Raleigh
Augusta
Charleston
Savannah
Mobile
Pensacola
New Orleans
St. Augustine
CONN. RESERVE
BOUNDARY DISPUTED
WEST FLORIDA
EAST FLORIDA
GEORGIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
MASS.
CONN.
N. HAMPSHIRE
N. YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
N. JERSEY
DEL.
MD.
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
THE UNITED STATES 1789
SCALE OF MILES.
0 50 100 200 300
Engraved by Rand, McNally & Company for Dallows Brothers Company.

organization of the Department of State and the diplomatic measures of Washington's and Adams's administrations are treated fully in Foster's *A Century of American Diplomacy*, chs. iv and v. Hamilton's report on the establishment of a national mint and a system of coinage is given in *Old South Leaflets*, no. 74.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
First exportation of cotton from America	1747
First tariff bill passed	July 4, 1789
Federal judiciary organized by act of Congress	Sept. 24, 1789
First cotton mill erected in America; Hamilton's plan for funding the national debt adopted; debts of the states assumed by the national government	1790
United States Bank authorized by Congress	Feb. 25, 1791
First ten amendments to the Constitution in force	Dec. 15, 1791
United States mint established; decimal system of coinage adopted	Apr. 2, 1792

CHAPTER III

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

1789-1801

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—If necessary, review the Indian phase of our history before taking up the Indian war. From some good modern history, such as the *Medieval and Modern History* of this series, gain a clear idea of the French Revolution. Be particular to notice the difference between the French idea and the English idea of liberty; then account for the different views held in the United States concerning affairs in France.

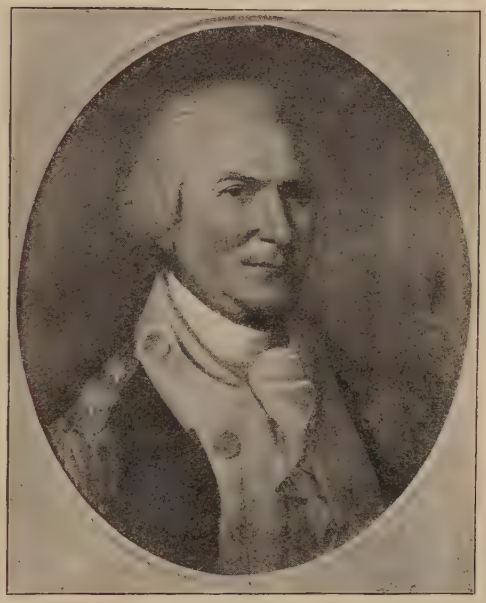
Get an understanding of what international law is and what is meant by neutrality.

Notice the appearance of the state rights doctrine and discover the underlying principle in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.

The preceding chapters have been devoted to those events directly connected with establishing and organizing the national government. But while this was being done, other events of national and international importance were also occurring.

339. Indian War.—By the Treaty of Paris in 1763, France relinquished to England all claim to American territory except the Isle of Orleans (which was given to Spain) and two small islands in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. When the English took possession of the French posts, their claim to territory beyond the very narrow limits of the fort reservations was contested by the Indians, who, led by Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, main-

tained a cruel and persistent warfare against the new intruders. Though the Indians were humbled by the war, the English gained nothing but peace. However, by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 they secured the Iroquois title to lands south of the Ohio. At the close of the Revolutionary War England ceded her land south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi to the United States, but the Indian titles to lands north of the Ohio remained to be quieted. The government, though professing to believe that by the part which these Indians had taken in the Revolution they had forfeited all claims to the land, nevertheless treated the tribes as sovereign nations, and between 1783 and 1790 negotiated treaties in which the Indians released all claims to the territory now constituting the states of



ARTHUR SAINT CLAIR
[From a painting by Charles Wilson Peale, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. But the Kickapoo, Pottawatamie, Wea, Miami and Eel River tribes refused to sign the treaty, claiming that the Ohio should constitute the northern boundary of the white man's country.

When settlers began to take up land in the Ohio valley, these Indians naturally resisted the invasion in their customary manner. There were at this time between twenty and forty thousand Indians in the Northwest Territory, and it was not difficult for the disaffected tribes to induce others to join them. In 1790 the uprising, which was led by the celebrated Joseph Brant of Revolutionary fame (Section 302), became general, and the settlers upon the frontier appealed to the government for protection. General Saint Clair, who was at that time military governor of the territory, was given command of an army of regulars and militia numbering in all 1400 and was sent to quell the uprising. His forces met with a most disastrous defeat near the headwaters of the Wabash. The frontier became exposed to all the dangers of Indian warfare, and a second expedition, under the command of General Anthony Wayne, in 1794, invaded the Indian country and completely routed the foe in a battle near the present site of Fort Wayne. The Indians were thus compelled to sue for peace, and by the treaty they relinquished all claim to the territory and agreed to move farther west.

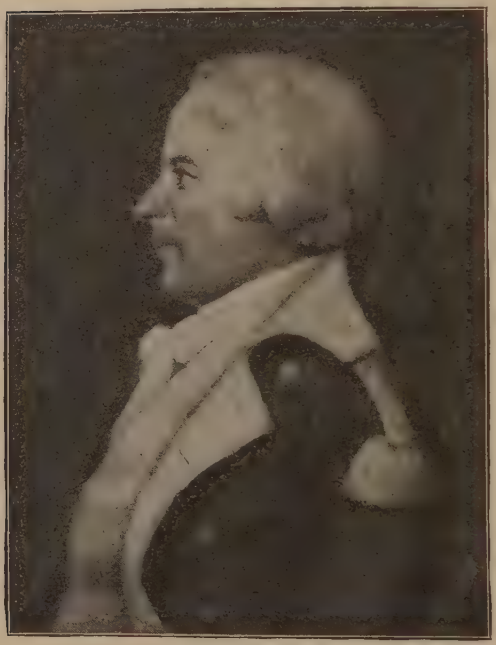
South of the Ohio the Cherokees and Creeks were in a hostile mood. The former had just been driven from

what is now Tennessee by Sevier and his followers and had strongly influenced the Creeks, with whom they took refuge. These Indians were numerous and well armed and were led by a Scotch half-breed, McGillivray. For a time an outbreak on the Georgia frontier seemed imminent, but Washington sent a commission to the Indians and they succeeded in inducing McGillivray and his chiefs to come to New York. They were so hospitably received that a treaty was negotiated which would have prevented future difficulties had the inhabitants of Georgia been governed by its provisions; but a few years later encroachments upon the lands claimed by the Creeks led to a long and annoying border war.

North of the Ohio the Indians were encouraged in active depredations by the British, who still occupied a number of outposts, refusing to vacate on account of alleged American violations of the treaty of 1783; south of the Ohio they were continually incited to hostilities by the Spaniards, who occupied posts in Florida and were anxious to prevent further settlement in the territory west of Georgia.

From the outset there was in Congress a party of opposition to the government, and the leaders seized upon Saint Clair's defeat as affording an excellent excuse for attacking the administration. They claimed that the war was wholly unnecessary and was a useless waste of money and life; that the Indians were justly entitled to their lands, and that the United States

already held more land than it needed. Their view respecting the Indians' title to the land was upon certain grounds well founded; and although Washington endeavored to establish a conciliatory and just policy in dealing with the Indians, his efforts were not always successful, and the relations between the national government and the redmen have formed one of the most humiliating chapters of American history.



ANTHONY WAYNE
[From a painting by James Sharpless, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

340. New States.—The year following the organization of the government, two states applied for admission into the Union. These were Vermont and Kentucky. The application brought before Congress the necessity of determining upon what conditions and in what way states were to be received into the Union. It was

decided that the incoming state should adopt a Constitution, which should be submitted to Congress along with the application for admission. These measures have since been varied somewhat in detail, but in the main all subsequent territories have followed the plan adopted for the first new states. Both of these states had sought admission under the Confederation, and this undoubtedly had considerable influence in placing in the Constitution a provision for admitting new states.[1]

The application of Kentucky[2] came before Congress first, but on account of her relations with Virginia she was not admitted until 1792, while Vermont[3] was admitted March 4, 1791.

341. Reëlection of Washington.—Washington's term of office was to expire in 1793, and he longingly looked forward to the time when he could again return to Mount

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[1] Constitution, Art. VII, Sec. 3, Clause 2.

[2] Kentucky was originally a part of Virginia. It was first visited by hunters, who later acted as guides to the early settlers. The first settlement was made by Daniel Boone, at Boonesborough, on the Kentucky River. Other settlers followed, and upon petition of the inhabitants, Virginia erected the territory into a county, having the boundaries of the present state. In 1792 Virginia relinquished her claims, and the county became a state. The name is an Indian word signifying *hunting-ground*. Consult *Kentucky* in the American Commonwealth series.

[3] The western part of the territory comprising Vermont was claimed by New York, and the eastern part by New Hampshire. Owing to the contentions of these rival claimants, the early settlers suffered many hardships and indignities, which so incensed them against both states that they resolved to belong to neither. In 1777 an independent government was organized, and the state repeatedly made applications for admission under the Confederation, but owing to the influence of New York in Congress, these were denied, and Vermont maintained her independent existence until admitted to the Union in 1791. The name comes from the French words *vert monts*, and means green mountains. *The Green Mountain Boys*, a story by Thompson, gives a vivid account of the trials of the early settlers, and the volume *Vermont*, in the American Commonwealth series, gives a good account of the state as a whole.

WITHDRAWN
Mid Rivers Mall Drive
St. Peters, MO

Vernon and spend his remaining years in quietude and in improving his large estates. But the people were clamorous for his reëlection, and he consented to serve a second term. As on the first election, he received the unanimous vote of the electoral college. Adams again received the next highest number and was declared vice-president. There was more of an organization into parties than at the previous election, and this manifested itself in a systematic attempt to elect George Clinton vice-president over Adams.

342. Trouble with France.—1. The French Revolution.—While the government of the United States was being established, the affairs of France were in a turbulent and dangerous state that culminated in the Revolution, the establishment of a national representative assembly, the proclamation of the Republic and the deposition and execution of King Louis XVI.

When the news of the Revolution reached the United States it caused great rejoicing. Many Americans believed that France, too, was throwing off the yoke of monarchism and establishing a government of the people similar to our own. Jefferson, during his residence in France (Section 332), became deeply interested in the movement and returned full of the ideas of the French Republicans. In 1793 the new French government was at war with England. In the treaty negotiated with France in 1778 the United States agreed to aid that country in case she was attacked by England, and on

the strength of this agreement the new republic expected our assistance in her struggle.

As already stated, the French Republic had many warm friends in the United States. These partisans had begun to call themselves Republicans, and the early opponents of the administration formed a nucleus

WASHINGTON'S RESIDENCE AT GERMANTOWN IN 1793
This house was also used by General William Howe and Prince William, later King William IV of England, during the British occupation of Philadelphia in 1778 and 1779.

around which the party had gathered. Jefferson was their recognized leader, and in most measures he was warmly supported by Madison. Sympathy with France was the means of uniting the party and adding to its numbers.

2. Proclamation of Neutrality.—Of all men connected with the government, Washington was the most farsighted. Long before his election as president he saw that the stability and success of the United States depended upon the country's keeping free from European alliances and entanglements. Now came from a most unexpected quarter the immediate necessity of establishing a policy in reference to the affairs of other nations. This, in his own mind at least, was well matured. Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris and some others were of the same mind, and after a consultation with the cabinet, at which all approved the measure, Washington issued on April 22 a proclamation of neutrality.[1] He notified the governors of all states of the stand which the national government had taken and urged them to use their authority and influence to prevent violations of the proclamation and also of international law.

3. Citizen Genet.—Soon after declaring war with England, France sent a new minister to the United States, Edmund Charles Genet, better known, after the style of the French Republicans' address, as Citizen Genet. He had previously been connected with the French embassies at Vienna, Berlin and Saint Petersburg, and twelve years before had succeeded his father as chief

[1] For a nation to be neutral in a war requires that it shall not enter directly or indirectly into the war, shall allow no contestant more privileges upon its territory than it allows to every other contestant and shall prevent its citizens by all means within its power from lending aid to any party to the war.

of the bureau of correspondence in the French department of foreign affairs. His experience and training should certainly have well fitted him for a diplomatic position. He came to the United States, not only to secure assistance in the war against England, but with the avowed purpose of raising a volunteer army to wrest Louisiana from Spain, and also to fit out in our ports privateers[1] to prey upon British merchantmen. Such acts were a gross violation of all principles of international law.[2]

Genet landed at Charleston, South Carolina, two weeks before the proclamation of neutrality was issued, and was received with great enthusiasm. Encouraged by the expressions of sympathy and friendship for France which he heard upon all sides, he immediately began to seek recruiting officers and to issue commissions for privateers, instead of going at once to Philadelphia and presenting his credentials to the president, as diplomatic etiquette and custom required. He also turned the French consulates[3] into courts of admiralty[4] and gave the consuls authority to condemn British

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[1] Privateers are war vessels owned by private individuals and licensed by the government, intended to capture, plunder or destroy the merchant vessels of an enemy.

[2] International law consists of those rules which usually govern or should govern the conduct of sovereign states toward one another, also the mutual relations of their citizens.

[3] The consul is a representative of a country appointed to attend to its commercial interests in a town or city of another country. The consulate is the office or dwelling of a consul.

[4] Courts of admiralty are courts instituted for the purpose of trying cases arising from maritime controversies, contracts or offenses. In the United States all such matters are within the jurisdiction of the Federal courts. Genet was therefore meddling with a national function.

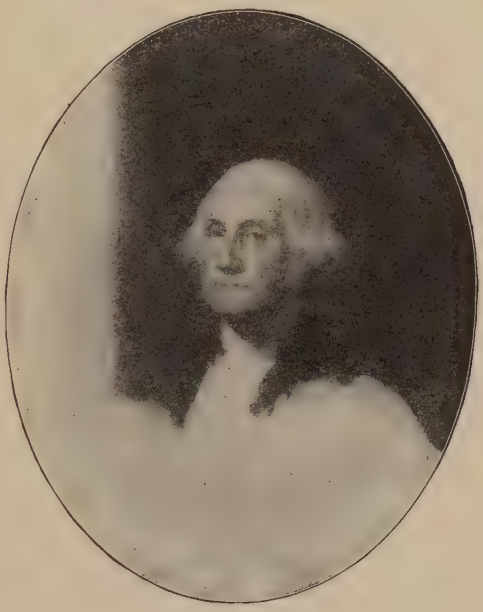
prizes[1] brought into ports of the United States by privateers. In consequence of these acts several privateers were fitted out and got to sea before the government could interfere, and in the course of a few months eight such vessels were sent from American ports. These, with the assistance of two French frigates, captured fifty British merchantmen, some of them being taken within waters under the jurisdiction of the United States.

On his way from Charleston to Philadelphia, Genet received a series of ovations, which culminated in the latter city in two public banquets, at which his sympathizers vied with one another in words and deeds expressive of their approval both of the French Republic and the lawless deeds of its minister plenipotentiary to the United States. Immediately after the proclamation of neutrality was issued, Genet was informed of the government's action by Jefferson, the secretary of state, and warned that he should cease issuing commissions for either recruiting officers or privateers. He replied that he was acting under the treaty of 1778, and gave no heed to the warning. He also demanded a large sum of money. There was still due France over $2,000,000, but the time of its payment had not arrived, and Hamilton informed

[1] A prize, in law, is anything belonging to one party to a war captured by the other in any fair way. It is most often applied to vessels or merchantmen, either public or private, captured upon the sea. It is generally agreed that such captures cannot be made within the jurisdiction of a neutral nation and the prize cannot be taken to a neutral port without the consent of the government having jurisdiction there. The disposal of the prize is in the hands of the government for which it was captured, but the proceeds are usually given to the officers and crew of the capturing vessel.

him that there was no money in the treasury, and if the funds were at hand his request would not be complied with.

The attitude of the government angered Genet beyond all reason. He wrote several insulting letters to Jefferson, publicly abused Washington and finally demanded that an extra session of Congress be called to treat with him, stating that the Constitution did not give the president the requisite authority. It is also stated that he threatened to appeal from the president to the people, but this he denied. Be that as it may, his excesses soon alienated the more conservative of his followers, and early in 1794 Washington demanded and secured his recall. Meantime public sentiment in France had changed, and Genet valued his



GEORGE WASHINGTON
An unfinished portrait, painted from life by Gilbert Stuart in 1796. Now hanging in the Boston Athenaeum and known as the Athenaeum Portrait of Washington.

life too highly to return to his native land. He accordingly became a citizen of the United States and settled in New York, where he married the daughter of Governor Clinton.

4. The Proclamation of Neutrality as a State Document.—American historians have taken different views of the moral issue involved in this proclamation. There is no question as to the terms of our alliance in the treaty of 1778. "By the treaty of alliance the United States had in most express and solemn terms guaranteed forever the French possessions in America. By the treaty of commerce the ports of the country were opened to the privateers and prizes of France, a shelter which her enemies were denied." [1] Some writers affirm that the proclamation was a violation of these provisions of the treaty and a breach of faith with France, though at the same time admitting that Washington did not so consider it. Others—and by far the greater number—declare that the treaty made with the monarchy did not necessarily hold with the government established by a bloody revolution; that the war between France and England in 1793 was not a war of defense, and more than all, that through the Reign of Terror resulting from the Revolution, France had forfeited all previous compacts.

From the American point of view there could be no question as to the wisdom of the measure. The feeling

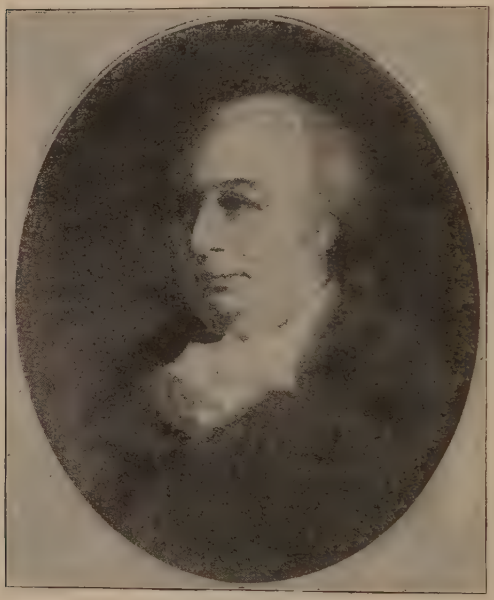
[1] McMaster.

of England toward the United States was still far from cordial, if not hostile. Great Britain had the strongest navy afloat, while we had none. For the United States to comply with the terms of the treaty of 1778 would be for her to violate fundamental principles of international law and to bring on a war with England as well. The country was in no condition to take such a risk, and from the view-point of national self-preservation the proclamation of neutrality was justifiable.

But over and above this in lasting importance was the influence which this state paper was destined to exert on the future history of the world. The proclamation of neutrality was a notice to Europe that a new power had arisen in the West; that this power had severed all colonial ties, and that henceforth it was to devote its energies to the development of its own territory and to the establishment of institutions that would be purely American. It severed forever any seeming connection with Old World governments or politics and laid the foundation of that policy which, thirty years later, was crystallized in the Monroe Doctrine (Section 431).

343. Trouble with England.—1. Violation of International Law.—Although Washington called his cabinet at once on receiving news of the war between France and England, and issued the proclamation of neutrality at the earliest possible date, it did not appear soon enough to prevent Genet's hostile acts. The result of

these, which were palpable violations of international law, nearly drove England to a declaration of war, and this was avoided only by the careful and conservative action of the government. That England had reasonable grounds for her attitude no one at this day will deny. Not only was the proclamation too late to forestall Genet's activity, but the strong feeling against it among the Republicans for a time made its enforcement a difficult matter, and violations repeatedly occurred. Whatever the intentions of the government might be, Great Britain held that we were responsible for these violations of law against a country with which we were at peace.



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS
[From a painting by Marchand, after one by Sully, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

2. Seizures of Ships.—In addition to the difficulties arising from popular opposition to neutrality at home

were those added by the acts of both England and France. Both nations persisted in capturing American vessels for alleged violations of certain disputed points in international law. These were:

(1) Both countries claimed that all provisions were *contraband of war;* that is, that merchant vessels, even of neutral nations, carrying breadstuffs to either of the hostile countries could be rightfully seized by the other. This construction of the term *contraband of war* was denied by the United States, our government justly claiming that only military supplies and provisions intended for the army or navy of one of the combatants were contraband.

(2) Both countries declared that after a port was proclaimed to be in a state of blockade, vessels bound to that port could be captured anywhere on the high seas. The United States held that a notice of blockade, in order to be effective, must be accompanied by an actual blockading force guarding the port designated.

(3) The third rule applied to trade with the colonies. England declared that where trade with any colony was forbidden in time of peace, it should not be opened to neutral nations in time of war, and in accordance with this claim proceeded to seize American ships found trading with the French and Spanish West Indies. The United States denied this right and claimed that Great Britain could not legally interfere with our trade with the colonies of other powers.

(4) Both the French and English governments claimed that a ship might be captured by either hostile party if it had upon it goods of any kind belonging to citizens of the other. The United States claimed that "free ships made free goods"; that is, that ships of neutral nations should not be searched or molested unless they carried contraband goods.

English ships were the more numerous, and made a larger number of seizures; consequently a more general feeling of resentment was aroused against England than against France, and before the close of Washington's term of office this became wide-spread and very bitter.

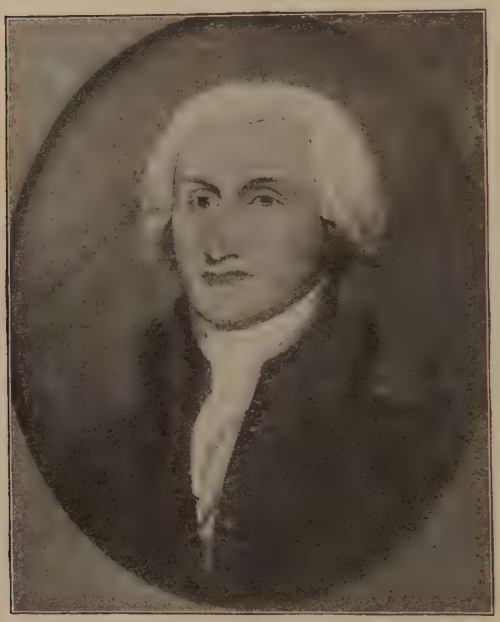
3. Impressment of Seamen.—Another source of still greater irritation was the seizure of seamen on American ships by the British. Previous to the outbreak of the war the demand for American ships and seamen had been such that many sailors entering the ports of the United States on British vessels had reëngaged at higher wages on American vessels. Others had removed from England and settled in the United States. Great Britain adhered to the principle that a subject could never forswear his allegiance to his country—in other words, that a man once a British subject was always a British subject—and claimed the right to take such men wherever found and impress them into her service. Even American citizens were sometimes impressed under this rule. Boarding and searching the vessels of nations with which she was at peace was wholly without justifi-

cation in international law, and the United States resented such acts all the more because they knew that the practice would never have been attempted had there been an American navy strong enough to call England to task. Public feeling rose to such height that in March, 1794, a temporary embargo was laid, forbidding ships to leave American ports.

4. Western Outposts.—The treaty of 1783 provided for the evacuation of all outposts on the frontier held by the British, but notwithstanding this provision, after a lapse of ten years, Detroit, Michilimackinac and a number of other important posts were still held, the British claiming they would evacuate them whenever the debts due British subjects from citizens of the United States were paid. It was no secret that the British agents and officers at these posts kept the Indians in a chronic state of unrest and at times incited them to open hostilities.

5. Jay's Treaty.—War seemed imminent and Congress began to prepare for it. The day following the embargo, a resolution was introduced into the House providing for the addition of twenty-five thousand troops to the regular army and calling upon the states for eighty thousand militia. Another resolution called for the seizure of all money due British subjects from citizens of the United States, and holding it in the treasury as an indemnity for those who had been robbed of ships and cargoes by British vessels. Washington,

however, was bent on peace, and determined to make one more effort to secure an amicable settlement with England. He therefore appointed John Jay, who was then chief justice of the Supreme Court, as special envoy to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain. Jay sailed from New York early in May, arrived in England on June 9, 1794, and was very cordially received. Negotiations, however, dragged along through the summer and early autumn, and the treaty was not signed in London until November 19.



JOHN JAY
[From a painting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

A striking comment on the state of communication between the United States and Europe at this time is in the fact that a copy of this treaty did not reach Washington until the 7th of the following March. Congress had adjourned and the members were at their homes, but Washington convened the

Senate in extra session early in June, and the treaty was debated behind closed doors for nearly three weeks, when finally it received the necessary two-thirds vote for ratification.

Washington had determined to sign it, but, soon after the Senate voted to ratify, the British government renewed their order making provisions contraband of war, and the president's signature was withheld pending an investigation of this order. The treaty was finally signed August 18. It secured the evacuation of the western outposts the following year, admitted American vessels to British ports in Europe and the East Indies on equal terms with British vessels, but denied them the privilege of coast trade. While American vessels were admitted to the West Indian trade, this traffic was to be confined to vessels of less than seventy tons' burden. This practically shut the United States from one of the best markets for its grain, fish and lumber, while removing the chief source of supply of sugar and molasses from which rum was manufactured for export. The United States was to receive indemnity for ships and cargoes illicitly captured by British vessels. For these meager privileges the United States opened all ports to British vessels without restriction and agreed to pay the debts due British subjects. We also further agreed not to export sugar, molasses, coffee and cocoa. Cotton was first included among the non-exportable articles, but the Senate struck it from the list. No relief was obtained

from impressment of seamen, one of the chief reasons for negotiating the treaty, and the questions of contraband of war, privateers and prizes were only temporarily settled.

As a whole, the treaty was not a great diplomatic victory for the United States, but those who favored it believed it to be the less of two evils, since its rejection meant a war which at that time would have been almost certainly disastrous. The events of succeeding years proved the wisdom of their choice. By it the frontier was relieved of the danger of Indian depredations and American commerce was in a great measure restored.

In Jay's treaty we find the crucial test of Washington's administration. At no time in our history—not excepting the most exciting period of the anti-slavery agitation—has public feeling run higher. Even before Jay departed on his mission, the movement was condemned by the Republicans, who predicted that nothing would come of it. For a time the terms of the treaty were kept secret, and this, with the secret debate in the Senate, caused a widespread belief that the country had prostrated itself before the British throne. The emissaries of France used every opportunity to foster an adverse public sentiment, and in large towns rioting was

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER
Adopted January 13, 1794, and used in the War of 1812.

of frequent occurrence. Jay was hung in effigy; Hamilton, when he attempted to speak in favor of the treaty, was stoned, and the government was flooded with letters and petitions against ratification. Even many of Washington's stanchest supporters looked upon the measure with disfavor. Amid this storm of opposition the president held steadfastly to his purpose. Possibly he signed an inglorious treaty, but in so doing he saved the country from a more inglorious war.

344. Admission of Tennessee.—In the midst of the agitation incited by the treaty, Tennessee applied for admission into the Union, and thus brought before the House an opportunity to use its power for partisan purposes. The territory was strongly Republican, and its admission would add three votes to the electoral college; therefore the Federalists sought to delay the measure until the next session of Congress, as a presidential election was about to occur. However, they were outvoted, and on the last day of the session, June 1, 1796, the bill admitting the state became a law.[1]

345. Election of Adams.—As his second term drew to

[1] Tennessee was originally a part of North Carolina. The first settlement was made in the territory in 1769. It was finally ceded to the national government in 1792, at which time it contained over 35,000 inhabitants. On the first attempt to cede the territory to the national government, the settlers protested and organized the state of Frankland or Franklin, electing John Sevier governor. In 1788 this government was overthrown by those inhabitants who were favorable to North Carolina, and Sevier was elected to the North Carolina senate. In 1794 a territorial government was organized, and two years later the territory became a state. The name is an Indian word meaning "The river of the big bend." Phelan's *History of Tennessee* gives a good account of the development of the state.

a close, Washington issued his farewell address, in which he made known his determination to retire from public life. In this address he pointed out the dangers lying in the pathway of the republic, and suggested ways for avoiding these dangers. By the great mass of people this address was received with profound respect. But it was unsparingly denounced by the more radical of the Republicans, who for two years or more had been heaping abuse upon Washington. These innuendoes soon passed into oblivion, but the "Farewell Address" is to-day considered one of the classics of American political literature.

"As the generations have come and gone, the Farewell Address has grown dearer to the hearts of the people, and the children, and the children's children, of those to whom it was addressed have turned to it in all times and known that there was no room for error in following its counsel."[1]

Washington's retirement threw the presidency into competition. Hamilton and Jefferson had both retired from the cabinet some time before, and each was favorably mentioned, as was John Jay. But before the day of election arrived the contest had narrowed down to Adams and Jefferson, and for the first time the presidential vote was cast on party lines. One hundred thirty-eight electoral votes were cast, Adams receiving 71 and Jefferson 68. These men therefore became, respectively, president and vice-president of the United

[1] Lodge, *George Washington*, vol. ii.

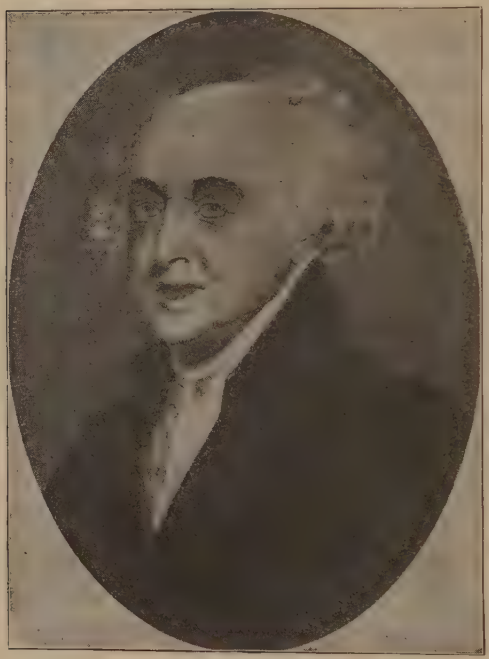
States. Twelve other names appeared on the ballot, but none received any considerable following.[1]

Adams was one of the ablest men in his party. His life had been spent in public service, and from the time of his defense of the British soldiers who took part in the Boston Massacre, to the close of his presidential career, he was before the country. He had been a member of the Continental Congress, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and was our first minister to the Court of St. James, relinquishing this position to become vice-president. His ability and experience had in every way prepared him for the exalted position to which he was called. He favored a strong national government, but had little tact in dealing with men who differed from him in opinion. He retained Washington's old cabinet—which soon proved to be a mistake, as many of them were strongly influenced by Hamilton, who was not on very friendly terms with the president. From the beginning, Adams was confronted by a vice-president who was in every way his political opponent, and who, supported by a party nearly equal in strength to that in control of the government, was anxious to prevent the success of any measure that the president advanced.

346. Quarrel with France.—1. THE TREATY.—The ratification of Jay's treaty enraged France beyond meas-

[1] Each elector voted for two men (Section 328, footnote), which explains the apparent discrepancy in the above figures.

ure. It was considered by the French government as almost a declaration of war. Adet, the French minister to the United States, was recalled, and the Directory[1] refused to receive General Pinckney, our own minister to France, and ordered him out of the country. The change in ministers itself was displeasing to the Directory, because Monroe, Pinckney's predecessor, was a Republican and in sympathy with the French government, while Pinckney was a Federalist. But this was a minor matter compared with the treaty, which the French declared to be a gross violation of the treaty of 1778.



JOHN ADAMS

2. X Y Z Papers.—When President Adams learned of

[1] The Directory was a body of five men who conducted the executive affairs of France from November 1, 1795, to November 9, 1799.

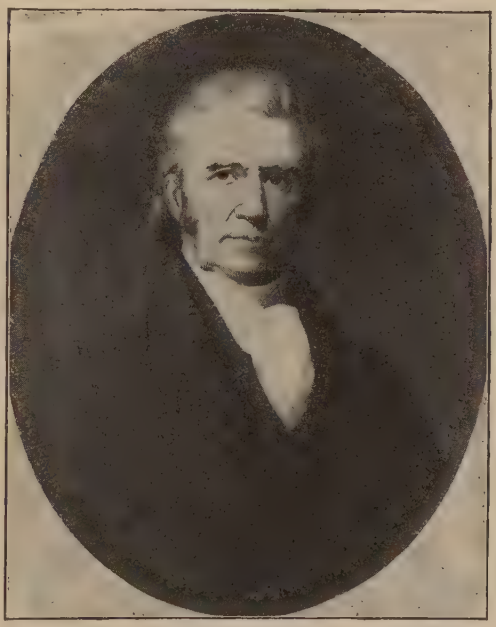
the affront which the United States had received, he laid the matter before Congress, with additional information that lawless seizures of American vessels by French cruisers were daily becoming more frequent. We were on the verge of war with France, but the president and the more conservative element in his party sought to maintain friendly relations with that country, and Congress sanctioned the appointment of three special envoys for the purpose of trying to maintain peace. John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry and Pinckney, who was already in Europe, were appointed. Unofficially the envoys were treated with the greatest courtesy, but they were granted no official hearing; moreover, they were beset by agents of Talleyrand, the French minister of foreign affairs. In their interviews they stated that the United States could hope for no further negotiations unless large sums of money were paid the French Directory. In submitting the correspondence to Congress, President Adams replaced the names of the French envoys with Mr. X, Mr. Y and Mr. Z, from which circumstance their letters became known in this country as the X Y Z Papers.

When Talleyrand's duplicity was made known to the president and Congress, it immediately created a strong anti-French sentiment. Not only the Federalists, who were continually accused by their opponents of favoring England, but a large number of Republicans were aroused. The administration suddenly

found itself popular, and when American patriotism was put to the real test, party differences disappeared before a common danger. The country presented a united front, and the cry, "Millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute," was heard from one end of the land to the other. Military preparations were begun, Washington was appointed commander-in-chief and additional vessels were purchased and fitted up for the navy. The American frigate *Constellation* engaged two French frigates, one of which, *L'Insurgente,* she captured. The promptness with which the United States took measures to resent the insult offered her envoys caused the wily Talleyrand to recede from his arrogant position and express a willingness to negotiate. The danger was passed, and friendly relations were again established in the following year.

347. Alien and Sedition Laws.—The affair with France had brought Adams and his party to sudden popularity, which possibly might have continued had Congress adjourned and the members gone to their homes when the Directory was brought to terms. Instead of doing this, however, the Federalist party took occasion to pass two laws that were entirely contrary to the spirit and tendency of the Constitution and American ideas of liberty. The first, known as the Alien Law, authorized the president "to order out of the country any foreigner whose presence he might judge to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or

to be plotting against them." The Sedition Law provided heavy fines and imprisonment for "those who should conspire to oppose the government of the United States or the laws, or who should print or publish any false, scandalous or malicious writings against the government, Congress or the president, intended to bring disrepute or hatred upon them or to stir up sedition." These acts contained clauses providing that they should expire in 1800 and 1801, respectively.



JOHN MARSHALL
[From a painting by Knapp, after one by Inman, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

The result was what might have been foreseen—a great wave of popular feeling against the administration and the party responsible for such legislation. Republicans at once declared both acts unconstitutional, and were unsparing in their denunciation of them.

348. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.—In 1798 the legislature of Kentucky, at the suggestion of Jefferson, who was probably the author of the document, passed a set of resolutions which set forth the unconstitutionality of the Alien and Sedition Laws, and advanced the doctrine that the union of states was a compact to which each state was a party with its fellow states; that in all cases not specified in this compact, each party had a right to judge for itself of both the infraction of laws and the mode and method of punishment. Another set of resolutions, passed the following year, went further, and declared that the state had a right to nullify a law of Congress which was thought to infringe upon or usurp state rights. Similar resolutions, prepared by Madison, were passed by the legislature of Virginia, but they were of a somewhat milder type. Together, these documents summarized the doctrine upon which, in Jackson's administration, nullification was based. Though no other states responded to the invitation of Kentucky to pass similar resolutions, there was quite a general sentiment in favor of the doctrine they embodied, and these states accomplished their primary object—that of influencing public opinion against the party in power.

349. The Judiciary Act.—Adams's administration was drawing to a close, but before his term of office expired he made one of the most important appointments in our history—that of John Marshall to be chief justice of the

Supreme Court. He also secured the passage of an act providing for sixteen circuit judges. These positions were filled from the Federalist ranks, and the appointments were made so near the expiration of the presidential term that the judges were known as "midnight judges." The law creating them was repealed in 1802.

350. Presidential Election.—As the presidential election approached, the unpopularity of Adams and the general distrust in which the Federalist party was held made it clear to the leaders that they could not hope to win in the coming contest. The Federalist electors voted for Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, while the Republican electors cast their votes for Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The Federalists were defeated, but Jefferson and Burr each received the same number of votes. The election was carried to the House of Representatives, where, after a prolonged contest, Jefferson was chosen on the thirty-sixth ballot. A political revolution had been consummated, and the party under whose guidance the Constitution had been ratified and the government established retired from power, on the fourth of March, 1801, never again to resume control of the government. The causes and measures by which this change was wrought are of sufficient importance to warrant a special chapter.

351. The Death of Washington.—After roll call one morning, soon after the Sixth Congress had settled down to work, Marshall rose in his place in the House and

announced that George Washington was dead. The end came suddenly on December 14, 1799, and was wholly unexpected. His death was caused by a cold contracted a few days before. Appropriate resolutions were offered by Marshall and adopted, and Congress adjourned. Washington's death was universally mourned at home and abroad, where he was held in the highest esteem by rulers and statesmen. The event was a severe blow to the Federalists, among whom dissensions had begun to appear. Washington's influence, more than that of all others, had led the party to pursue a course of moderation and to stand together in support of their principles. His death withdrew this controlling power at a time when it was most needed, and undoubtedly contributed in a measure to the party's downfall.

Washington's life was devoted to the service of his country, and he accomplished a work that has never been excelled. McMaster makes the following comment upon his life and work:

"George Washington is an unknown man. When at last he is set before us in his habit as he lived, we shall read less of the cherry-tree and more of the man. . . . We shall respect and honor him for being not the greatest of generals, not the wisest of statesmen, not the most saintly of his race; but a man with many human frailties and much common sense, who rose in the fullness of time to be the political deliverer of our country."[1]

Of all tributes paid him, none more fittingly or more eloquently characterizes his career and influence than the following by an unknown writer, and found upon the

[1] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States.*

TOMB OF WASHINGTON, MOUNT VERNON

The remains of the great leader were removed from the family vault to this tomb in 1831.

back of the frame to one of his miniature portraits at Mount Vernon:

"Washington, the defender of his country, the founder of liberty, the friend of man. History and tradition are explored in vain for a parallel to his character. In the annals of modern greatness he stands alone, and the noblest names of antiquity lose their luster in his presence. Born the benefactor of mankind, he united all the qualities necessary to an illustrious career. Nature made him great; he made himself virtuous. Called by his country to the defense of her liberties, he triumphantly vindicated the rights of humanity, and on the pillars of national independence laid the foundations of a great republic. Twice invested with the supreme magistracy by the unanimous voice of a free people, he surpassed in the cabinet the glories of the field, and voluntarily resigning the scepter and the sword, retired to the shades of private life. A spectacle so new and so sublime was contemplated with the profoundest admiration, and the name of Washington, adding new luster to humanity, resounded to the remotest regions of the earth. Magnanimous in youth, glorious through life, great in death, his highest ambition the happiness of mankind, his noblest victory the conquest of himself, bequeathing to posterity the inheritance of his fame and building his monument in the hearts of his countrymen, he lived, the ornament of the eighteenth century, and died, regretted by a mourning world." [1]

QUESTIONS

What led to the Indian outbreak in Ohio?

How did the French Revolution differ from that which secured the independence of the United States?

Was the United States government opposed to efforts of the French to secure a republican form of government? Give reasons for your answer.

What was the most important significance of Washington's proclamation of neutrality?

What was the effect of Jay's treaty upon the political situation in the United States? Did this treaty accomplish its purpose?

What trouble passed from Washington's to Adams's administration?

What was the fundamental principle of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions? Did any other states entertain similar views at that time? Have other states entertained them since? If so, on what occasions?

[1] Carrington, *The Patriotic Reader.*

Did the United States declare war against France? Were there any military or naval engagements?

Were the Alien and Sedition Laws unconstitutional? Why? Have any similar laws been passed since? If so, when?

REFERENCES

Hart's *Formation of the Union*, pp. 155–175, McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, pp. 243–259, and Walker's *The Making of the Nation*, chs. v, vi and vii, will be found especially helpful in the study of this chapter. Jefferson's views concerning our attitude toward France are well summarized in Morse's *Thomas Jefferson* (American Statesmen series), ch. x; and the opposing views in regard to Jay's treaty are well presented in Pellew's *John Jay*, pp. 262–339. The diplomatic events of this period are well discussed in Foster's *A Century of American Diplomacy*, ch. v. Interesting material will be found in Hart's *Source Book*, nos. 74, 75 and 76, and Washington's Farewell Address is given in full in *Old South Leaflets*, no. 4.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
French Revolution	1789–1795
Indian war in Ohio; Vermont admitted to the Union	1791
Kentucky admitted	1792
French Republic proclaimed	Sept., 1792
Reëlection of Washington; execution of Louis XVI; war between France and England; Washington's proclamation of neutrality	1793
Trouble with England	1793
Genet's mission	1793–1794
Whisky Insurrection; Wayne's defeat of the Indians	1794
Jay's treaty ratified	1795
Reign of the Directory in France	1795–1799
Tennessee admitted; Adams elected	1796
X Y Z correspondence; Alien and Sedition Laws passed	1798
Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions	1798–1799
Death of Washington	1799
Election of Jefferson	1800
John Marshall appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court; Judiciary Act passed	1801

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

1787-1801

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—This chapter contains a summary of the political views after the close of the Revolution, and the student should at the outset review this portion of the history. Notice how class distinction led to the formation of political parties, and understand the fundamental principles for which each party stood. Compare the Democratic Societies with the Jacobin Clubs of France.

Note carefully the steps leading to the overthrow of the Federalists. Have other political parties been overthrown for similar reasons?

Note the work accomplished by the Federalists and their influence upon the government.

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352. Antagonistic Views on the Constitution.—The Constitutional convention wrought a political revolution, and this in part caused some of the opposition to the document which was presented to the states for adoption as the fundamental law of the land. But more serious objections arose from the different views entertained by members of the convention as to the scope and nature of any national government that might be organized. After the work of the convention was concluded, the advocates of these views went before the country, those of one party trying to secure the adoption of the Constitution, and those of the other urging, with equal sincerity, its rejection. Since the views held by these two classes constitute the foundation of the two great schools

of political thought in America, they are worthy of brief consideration.

Both were the outgrowth of social and industrial conditions. The different relations they sustained to these conditions divided the people into two classes—those whose interests were commercial and demanded the protection of a firm and stable government; and those who lived in rural districts, debtors, and all who would gain advantage from the failure of government to regulate by sound and uniform laws the political and commercial affairs of the people.

ELECTION DAY IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1815
[From an old engraving in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

1. Federalists. —The first class had seen and felt the dire consequences following the lack of a national government with power to enforce its prerogatives. For the lack of such a government, the Revolutionary War had dragged through seven long years; the army had been called upon to suffer many privations and hardships from which they would otherwise have been relieved; the nation was without credit at home or abroad, and the United States had neither financial nor political standing among the nations of Europe. When a Con-

stitution providing a strong central government had been framed, it was a matter of comparatively slight importance to the Federalists whether or not the new government would foster class distinctions.

2. Anti-Federalists.—On the other hand, those who had suffered most from the war—those from whose ranks the armies had been recruited, from whose farms and shops the supplies had been drawn, whose fields had been laid waste and homes made desolate, and upon whom the war had left a burden of debt—remembered that this war had been brought on by the unwarranted acts of a monarchical government. Their experience had led them not only to fear, but even to abhor, anything that savored of monarchism. Under the plan of government provided in the Constitution, they believed there was a strong probability sooner or later of establishing a monarchy in the United States. The state governments, being nearer to the people than the national government, were thought to be more responsive to their wishes; hence the Anti-Federalists wished to increase and conserve the powers of the state at the expense of the nation.

353. Party Spirit Disappears.—When the Constitution was adopted the Anti-Federalists ceased active opposition, and, on the inauguration of the government, party organization had practically disappeared. Washington tried to harmonize all factions by selecting members of his cabinet from each. Hamilton and Knox were

Federalists, Randolph was an Anti-Federalist and Jefferson, while he had favored the adoption of the Constitution, was in sympathy with the Anti-Federalist views. But subsequent events showed that Washington was not successful. The first Congress contained, in both the House and the Senate, members who had opposed the Constitution and who were still haunted by fears of a monarchy. They were, however, so few in number that they were unable to obstruct or sensibly modify legislation, but their opposition led to several long and somewhat acrimonious debates.

354. The Fear of Monarchism.—The views and arguments of these men seem to us highly ridiculous, but they should be judged by the conditions of 1790, rather than by those of the twentieth century. We have already described those measures (Section 334) which brought into open and keen hostility the friends and enemies of the administration so as to form the beginnings of political parties. The Federalists naturally consisted of those who advocated the measures proposed by Hamilton and others for giving the general government broad powers and placing it upon a secure foundation. Just as naturally, most of the opponents of these measures came from the ranks of the Anti-Federalists, but the position of this party had now changed. Before the adoption of the Constitution, to be an Anti-Federalist was to oppose its adoption, but after that event, to be an Anti-Federalist was to oppose those measures which

tended to strengthen the authority of the national government. The most feared of all these was Hamilton's financial scheme; therefore he drew upon himself the brunt of the opposition, and this all the more because of the views which he expressed in the Constitutional convention. It was well known that he had openly expressed his distrust of republican government and had advocated the election of the president for life. In his speeches and writings he had expressed the view that the state governments must be subordinate to the Federal government, and in a letter written after the adoption of the Constitution, he says:

"The object of a good administration should be to acquire for the Federal government more consistency than the Constitution seems to promise for so great a country. It may then triumph altogether over the state governments and reduce them to an entire subordination, dividing the large states into simpler districts. The organs of the general government may also acquire additional strength."

These views, together with the strong nationalizing tendency of his financial measures, without doubt furnished some ground for the opposition that developed in the First Congress. Madison, who was one of the most ardent Federalists at the time of his election to the House, soon allied himself with this opposition, because he believed that Hamilton was trying to "administer" the government, and that his measures far exceeded the powers conferred by the Constitution. This belief was shared by Jefferson, Mason of Virginia and several other congressmen, who vigorously upheld the theory of "strict

construction" of the Constitution and unsparingly condemned Hamilton's policy of "loose construction."

Moreover, Adams had spent considerable time abroad, and had just returned from his position as minister of the United States to Great Britain. He was naturally aristocratic, and it was thought that he favored establishing a government on the plan of that of England. On the day of Washington's inauguration he spoke to the Senate of the inaugural address as the "President's most gracious speech." This drew a sharp rebuke from Senator Maclay of Pennsylvania, who claimed that these were the words usually prefixed to the speech of His Britannic Majesty, and that their use savored of royalty. The attempt in the Senate to adopt some high-sounding

GEORGE WASHINGTON
A statue by J. Q. A. Ward, standing at the Wall Street entrance of the United States sub-treasury building, New York. [1]

[1] Below the statue is the following inscription: "On this site in Federal Hall, April 30, 1789, George Washington took the oath as first president of the United States of America."

title by which the president should be addressed, Washington's custom of coming to his office in a coach drawn by four horses, the system of etiquette established by him and the levees held by Lady Washington were all looked upon by Maclay and others as customs borrowed from European courts. They believed that the adoption of these customs would lead to others which would still further separate the ruling class from the common people and that they would culminate in a monarchical form of government. Although the Senate conducted its sessions with closed doors, Senator Maclay kept a diary, which was afterwards published, and from which we may obtain an idea of the views of the Senators of that day as well as the methods of procedure which that body adopted. The following extract from this diary shows Maclay's view of the Constitution:

"My mind revolts in many instances against the Constitution of the United States. I am afraid it will turn out the vilest of all traps that ever were set to ensnare the freedom of an unsuspecting people. Treaties passed by the executive of the United States are to be the law of the land. To cloak the executive with legislative authority is setting aside our modern and much-boasted distribution of power into legislative, judicial and executive. It contradicts in theory all modern government, and in practice must be tyrannical."

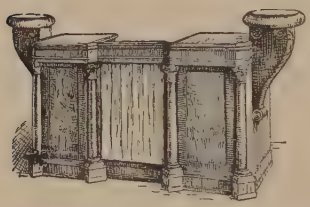
The opposition was also augmented from another source. Some of the arguments against Hamilton's measures have already been stated (Section 334), but the relation of these to the formation of parties is a matter of further interest. In the New England and Middle states there were numerous small farmers, country mer-

chants and others who were in debt, and in the South many of the owners of large plantations were in a similar condition. These debtors were hoping to secure in their respective states such insolvency laws as would free them from their obligations, and in some states they had partially succeeded. The adoption of Hamilton's scheme would be a death blow to their plans. Therefore a common interest united the debtor class in opposition to his measures.

Another class vitally interested in the adoption of these measures comprised those who held large amounts of Continental currency and other government obligations, and those to whom the debts of private individuals were due. Among these were a number of members of Congress and some of Hamilton's most intimate friends. These conditions led the opposition to accuse Hamilton and his followers of using his financial measures to bribe members of Congress for the purpose of securing favorable legislation. Jefferson was one of the foremost advocates of this view, and his writings and other public utterances showed him to be Hamilton's inveterate enemy. Both were born leaders, both had large followings, and this breach tended still further to separate the parties. Near the close of Washington's first term, Jefferson went so far as to write him confidentially, accusing Hamilton of bribing congressmen and of using all his powers and influence to corrupt the government and establish a monarchy. Jefferson claimed in this letter that Washington's reëlection was the only thing that

could save the country from disunion, since all, regardless of party, had confidence in him.

Jefferson's suspicions were unfounded. This his position in the government ought to have led him to see; most writers of our political history censure him more or less severely for his attitude, and especially for remaining in the cabinet while he was using his influence against the administration. Unfortunately, Jefferson was often theoretical, illogical and fanatical in his views. When he once started on a train of thought, he was liable to carry it to the extreme, and to him the suggestion of an opportunity for corruption was enough to lead to the conclusion that it existed. He was intensely jealous of Hamilton, whose position and work in the cabinet had brought him prominently before the country. While secretary of state, Jefferson had appointed Freneau, a former political associate and then editor of the *National Gazette*, clerk in the Department of State, and continued him in his position, notwithstanding the fact that the *Gazette* was established as an organ of the opposition, and that every issue contained scurrilous attacks on the administration and many contained personal abuse of Washington. To Jefferson and the principles for which he stood we owe much, but his conduct



WASHINGTON'S DESK
Used by him as president. Now in Federal Hall, New York.

during most of his career as secretary of state is certainly indefensible.

355. The Beginnings of Sectionalism.—1. Slavery.—The controversy over slavery began in the Constitutional convention, where it led to the compromises concerning representation[1] and the importation of slaves[2] (Section 322, 4, 5). Early in Washington's administration there was presented a proposition to place a duty of ten dollars each upon all slaves imported. Although introduced by Parker of Virginia, the measure was opposed by most of the southern members. During the discussion several advocates of the bill stated that slavery should have been abolished by the Constitution; that its continuance was in direct violation of the Declaration of Independence and was a disgrace to the government. These members favored such a tax as would practically prohibit the importation of negroes. No sooner were these views advanced than they aroused such a storm of opposition from the southern members that Parker withdrew his measure. But the seeds of discord were sown, and the coming century was to witness such a harvest of blood and devastation as the world had never seen.

2. Industrial Conditions.—Additional stimulus was given to this sectional feeling by difference in the industrial conditions of the North and the South. While New England and the Middle states were devoted to com-

[1] Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 2, Clause 3.
[2] Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 9, Clause 1.

merce and shipping and were the principal seat of such manufacturing industries as existed at this time, the South, under the influence of natural conditions and of the institution of slavery, was still composed chiefly of agricultural communities. The interests of the North—that is, of those sections where commercial industries predominated—demanded a strong, centralized government in order to obtain the confidence of the American people and of other nations and to induce investment and the development of resources. The interests of the South were of such a nature that they were not quickly or seriously affected by fluctuations in economic conditions, hence Southerners did not see the necessity for a strong national government. Their zeal for maintaining the power and prestige of the state governments arose from the memory of the afflictions caused by a power beyond the borders of the states.

These and several minor causes developed a division along sectional lines, and in this development many of the southern members allied themselves with the opposition party, while most of the northern members adhered to the party of the administration.

356. Influence of the French Revolution.—1. REPUBLICANS.—Soon after entering upon his duties as secretary of state, Jefferson became the acknowledged leader of the party of opposition. He was filled with French ideas of liberty and democracy, and he carried them to the extreme. In accordance with his French notions, his party

changed its name from Anti-Federalists to Republicans and sarcastically called the Federalists, Monarchists. Jefferson and his followers were ardent sympathizers with the French Revolution, many of them even approving the excesses for which it was responsible. These people failed to see the difference between the

INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA
After its restoration in 1876. At the left is the old City Hall and at the right Congress Hall.

Anglo-Saxon and the French ideas of liberty. The former then, as now, meant such freedom under a well regulated system of laws as contributed alike to the highest interests of the individual and the State; the latter, at that time, meant unrestrained license, and in its name were perpetrated most horrible crimes.

2. Democratic Societies.—The development of this sympathy for France is not surprising. The services of Lafayette, of Rochambeau and his troops and of De Grasse and his fleet, were still living realities, and it was remembered that had it not been for this assistance we might not have won our independence. The announcement of Washington's proclamation of neutrality (Section 342, 2) aroused in the French sympathizers a state of unusual activity. They organized themselves into clubs resembling the Jacobin Clubs of France. These organizations were generally known as Democratic Societies. The members held frequent meetings; abolished all titles, addressing one another as "citizen" and "citizeness," the latter often abbreviated to "citess"; wore cockades and liberty caps and opposed the government, which they accused of being in sympathy with the British instead of the French, and of assuming unwarranted authority in laying and collecting the excise tax.

From the first, these societies were looked down upon by the conservative element among the Republicans; support of Genet in his lawless measures caused the withdrawal of many of their members; in 1794 Washington denounced them as the instigators of the Whisky Insurrection, and the organizations began to decline. While the Democratic Societies went further than the Republicans in their support of France, they agreed with them in their general opposition to the administration, and this mutual agreement finally led to their union

with the Republicans in 1794–1795. After this union the party began to be known as Democratic-Republican.

The members of Democratic Societies railed at the government for its unwarranted assumption of authority, and held the Federalists up to ridicule for what they styled sympathy with monarchical forms of government and subservience to Great Britain. In reality these societies constituted the only political organization in the history of the United States that had been wholly given over to foreign influence.

357. Fall of the Federalists.—The election of the Sixth Congress placed both the House and the Senate in the control of the Federalists, and when this Congress assembled the party was at the height of its power. Nevertheless, from that time its influence began to wane. With the subsidence of the danger of war with France, the Republicans again began to assert themselves. They claimed to see evil in all that the Federalists had done since the government was organized. They found fault with the financial system; they exclaimed against the naturalization law passed by Congress, requiring fourteen years' residence of all foreign applicants for franchise; they declared that a standing army and a navy were a constant menace to the liberties of the people. But the Alien and Sedition Laws furnished the most powerful weapons, and these they used with all possible force. At the beginning of the session following the enactment of these laws, Congress was deluged with petitions for their

repeal, but the petitions were unheeded. President Adams, having received assurances from France that a minister from the United States would be received, and that Napoleon, who had become first consul, was anxious for renewal of friendly relations with this country, consulted with his cabinet as to the advisability of sending the minister. The cabinet advised against it, principally because they wished to use the present feeling against France as a means of giving the party a strong following at the approaching presidential election. However, Adams disregarded their advice, as he had a perfect right to do, and decided to send three envoys to negotiate a new treaty. Republican papers published this decision, without giving along with it the information that France had expressed a desire to reopen negotiations with the United States. The proceeding caused a division in the

TIMOTHY PICKERING

Federal party, many members of which felt that this act of the president was a breach of faith with the party, and also that it placed the United States in a humiliating position.

The method adopted for assessing the excise tax on liquors, voted when war with France was imminent, also gave rise to great dissatisfaction. For want of more accurate knowledge as to the value of real estate, it was decided that houses should be assessed according to the number and size of windows which they contained. Many of the assessors failed to show tact and good sense in the discharge of their duties and the result was a very bitter feeling against them, which in some portions of Pennsylvania led to serious rioting. All these things tended to increase the numbers and strength of the Republican ranks, while they as constantly divided and weakened the councils of the Federalists, and although the leaders of the Federalist party made strenuous efforts to retain their hold upon the country, in the election of 1800 they were outvoted.

358. Political Extremes.—The bitterness of political feeling and the extremes to which each party went in its attack upon the other can scarcely be realized at the present day. Even the most sensational political journals in their most ardent efforts would not now be tolerated in attacks such as the journals of that day were accustomed to make upon public men; and the debates in Congress have never, in wholesale denunciation, slander,

invective or personal malice, exceeded those of the Fifth and Sixth Congresses.

But we are not to infer from this that the rise of political factions was wholly evil. That neither party entertained the extreme views imputed to it by the other is certain, and that either, if left in undisputed control of the government, would have brought ruin upon the country or changed the era of prosperity to one of depression, is exceedingly improbable. Yet the opposition served as a check upon the party in power and caused all important measures to be thoroughly studied and some of them to receive important and valuable modifications. From the experiences of this period of our national government, the country learned a valuable lesson, namely, that under a republican form of government two political parties of nearly equal strength are essential to securing the best results.

359. The Work of the Federalists.—During the twelve years that the Federalists administered the government they deeply affected American institutions. They organized the House and Senate on plans that have continued to the present time; they established public credit by measures that have ever since formed the basis of our financial system; they organized the Federal judiciary; they established a foreign policy that has not only served as a precedent for our own guidance, but also modified the diplomacy of Europe, and they so applied the principles of the Constitution in their administration of both

domestic and foreign affairs that they gradually and unconsciously established its true position and influence in our system of government.

QUESTIONS

What reason did those who opposed the adoption of the Constitution give for the position they maintained? Were these reasons well founded?

Why did Madison become identified with the Anti-Federalists?

Why did Washington fail in his attempt to harmonize political factions by selecting members of his cabinet from each?

How did Hamilton's financial measures hasten the formation of political parties? What was their effect upon the rise of Sectionalism?

State in the order of their occurrence the causes leading to the downfall of the Federalists.

What led to a division in the Federalist party during Adams's administration? What institutions established by the Federalists have continued to the present time?

What influence did the American Jacobin Clubs exert? What was their relation to the Democratic Societies?

How does the authority now exercised by the Federal government compare with that exercised by it at the close of Adams's administration?

REFERENCES

An interesting and helpful discussion of this period will be found in Hart's *Formation of the Union*, pp. 171–179. The political doctrines of the Federalists and the Republicans are well summarized in Gordy's *History of Political Parties in the United States*, vol. i, chs. v–xxii. Hamilton's foreign policy is explained by Lodge in his *Alexander Hamilton*, pp. 155–180. McMaster, in his *History of the People of the United States*, vol. ii, ch. viii, gives an extended discussion of the political feeling aroused through sympathy with France.

CHAPTER V

A DECADE OF PROSPERITY

1790-1800

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY. — Refer to the map sketched for Chapter I, and draw upon it the boundaries of the new states. Compare the financial and industrial conditions with those at the beginning of the decade. Compare the religious and educational conditions with those previous to the Revolution, and notice the changes. These conditions should receive further attention in your supplementary reading.

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360. Population.—The census of 1800 showed a population of some over 5,300,000, a gain of 1,300,000 in ten years. There were 900,000 slaves, nearly all of whom were in the states south of Mason and Dixon's Line and the Ohio River. The country had an area of 828,000 square miles, but its 5,000,000 inhabitants occupied only about 300,000 square miles of this territory Fully two-thirds of the people were either on the coast or within fifty miles of it. The others inhabited the eastern slopes of the Alleghenies or were found in the new settlements beyond the mountains. Not over one-twentieth of the people dwelt in cities or large towns. Of the large cities, Philadelphia and New York had each more than doubled in population, the former having 70,000 and the latter 60,000 inhabitants. Locating the government at Philadelphia had for a time made it the first city of the

country, and it contained numerous improvements similar to those found at the present day. Its streets were lighted, and some of them were paved, and it boasted many substantial public buildings and fine residences. New York was fast becoming the commercial center of the country, and contained a cosmopolitan population. Boston and Baltimore had each increased in population over one-third, and were thriving commercial centers. Charleston had doubled its population and was the commercial center of the South, and in its harbors could be found ships from nearly every European nation.

Emigration to the country beyond the Alleghenies moved the center of population westward forty-one miles during the ten years between 1790 and 1800. At the former date it was twenty-three miles east of Baltimore, and at the latter, eighteen miles west. Mason and Dixon's Line again divided the population almost equally, but the large number of negroes south of this line gave the slaveholding states only about one-half the number of white inhabitants found in the states to the north. Slaves were held in nearly all states, and there was not any widespread feeling against slavery as an institution, though the slaves in any one of the Southern states probably exceeded in number all of those in the Northern states.

361. States and Territories.—Three new states, Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, had been added to the

Union, and in 1800 the region north of the Ohio had been organized into the Northwest Territory and Indiana Territory, the dividing line corresponding to the present eastern boundary of Indiana, and extending from the Ohio to Sault Sainte Marie on Lake Superior. Much of what has since become the states of Alabama and

SOLITUDE

The mansion of John Penn, grandson of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania. This house was built in 1785.

Mississippi was still claimed by Georgia, but between this region and the Spanish territory to the south lay a stretch of territory about one hundred miles wide and extending from the Chattahoochee to the Mississippi, which was a part of the public domain, having been organized into the Territory of Mississippi in 1798. In 1802 Georgia ceded her public domain to the United

States, and the boundary of the territory was extended northward to Tennessee.

After the Declaration of Independence all of the states adopted constitutions modeled chiefly on colonial charters; Rhode Island and Connecticut retained their charters as constitutions without alteration. The development of these states under the new government soon showed most of these constitutions to be unsatisfactory; consequently, during the decade, a number of states adopted new constitutions modeled after that of the United States. The change not only gave these states a better form of state government, but it also showed very clearly that whatever distrust of the Federal government had at first been entertained had now entirely disappeared.

362. Finances.—Provisions for paying the domestic and state debts in full brought from their places of concealment all the Continental currency and gold and silver which the country contained. Money soon became plentiful, and this stimulated all lines of business to a degree not before known, even in the most prosperous days of colonial times. When the stock of the Bank of the United States was placed on the market, the entire amount offered for sale was subscribed for in less than an hour, and the demand for shares far exceeded the amount authorized. This demand caused the stock to increase in value and gave the bank a strong financial standing. Besides this bank, there were at the time

three others—the Bank of North America at Philadelphia, the Bank of New York at New York and the Bank of Maryland at Baltimore. These had been chartered by their respective states before the adoption of the Constitution. Each of these banks issued notes of circulation, but these notes constituted only a local currency. People living in New York did not want bills on a bank located in Philadelphia or Baltimore, so that these banks gave but limited assistance to business. The notes issued by the Bank of the United States, however, constituted a national currency, and were taken everywhere without question. This added to the volume of money in circulation and was of great advantage to all business interests. The entire money in circulation in 1800 amounted to $26,500,000, an average of $5.30 per capita. The national debt was about $83,000,000, or $15.63 per capita, but this was funded on a safe plan, the interest was being paid as it became due and the following year was to see the beginning of its reduction. The financial condition of the country was sound and our credit at home and abroad was good.

When the mint was established, the present system of coinage was adopted, but it was a long time before the new coins came into use, and at the close of the decade foreign coins and state coins were in general circulation. Spanish dollars, half-dollars, quarters, fifths or "pistareens," and eighths or "reals," were common in all states. The "real" or "royal" was worth twelve and

one-half cents, and a half-real, six and one-fourth cents. The values of state coins varied. In New York the "real" was reckoned a shilling or one-twentieth of a pound. In New England it was a ninepence, while the shilling was sixteen and two-thirds cents, and here also twenty shillings of this value were required for a pound; in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland the pound had still different values. In each of these localities people are still living who reckon in shillings, ninepences and fippennies or fips, though their values are now computed in United States currency.

As money became plentiful, speculation began, and a thriving business in stock brokerage was established in all the larger cities. As usual, the many paid their money into the tills of the few and learned when it was too late that their securities were of little or no value.

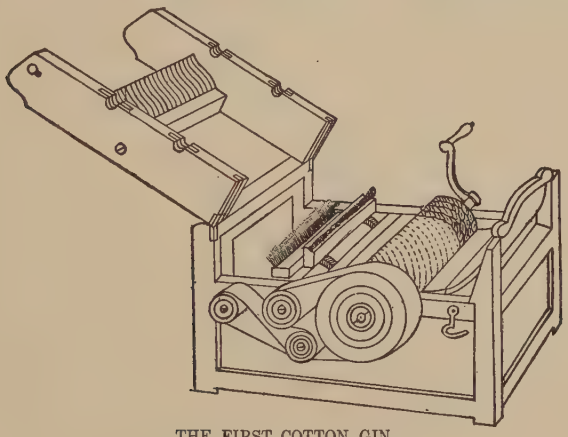
Lotteries sprang up all over the country and were regarded as an honorable and proper means for securing money for public purposes. If a schoolhouse was needed the community started a lottery; if a church was to be repaired a lottery started by the congregation put money into the treasury. Lotteries also afforded funds for building bridges, constructing locks, establishing manufactures and other enterprises, and were resorted to to procure money for erecting buildings in Washington. The evil soon reached such proportions that in many localities it demoralized business, and the state legislatures were compelled to pass laws greatly restricting or

entirely prohibiting lotteries. This action led to a more sober view of the practice, and as its folly was recognized the lottery declined.

363. Industries.—1. AGRICULTURE.—Agriculture was still the most important industry. During the decade it had increased in extent and value, but methods and products were still unchanged. In the New England and Middle states general farming was practiced, and although the farms were small nearly every one produced more than was required to support the farmer and his family. The surplus supplied the markets of the cities and also furnished a considerable amount for export. In 1800 the value of wheat and flour sent to foreign countries exceeded $2,500,000. In the South tobacco and rice were the staples. The export of cotton had begun, and in South Carolina and Georgia some indigo was produced.

2. INVENTIONS.—The patent system was organized in 1790 on a plan devised by Jefferson. The secretary of state, secretary of war and attorney-general were made a board of commissioners and authorized to examine all applications and grant patents on those they considered worthy. From their decision there was no appeal. The business of the office was at first small. In 1790 only three patents were granted. The year following the number rose to thirty-three, and in 1793 it fell to twenty. One of these, however, was destined to exert a lasting influence upon the industrial conditions

in England and the United States. This was the cotton gin, invented by Eli Whitney.[1] As designed by Whitney, the cotton gin was a machine for separating the seed



THE FIRST COTTON GIN
[After a drawing of the original model.]

from the cotton. Previous to this invention the process had been slow and laborious, a single slave being able to

[1] Eli Whitney was the son of a Massachusetts farmer. When a boy he showed remarkable skill in the use of tools. At sixteen he became a nail-maker; at twenty-four he entered Yale College, from which he graduated three years later. Soon after graduating he went to Savannah to teach. Here he became an inmate of the family of General Nathaniel Greene, and from Mrs. Greene learned of the great need of the Southern planters for a machine to separate the seeds from cotton. At this time he had never seen a cotton plant, but he resolved to invent such a machine as was needed. As soon as his attempt became known, he had many visitors, and one night his shop was broken into and his partially completed model stolen. Whitney then returned to Connecticut, where he completed his invention. His application for a patent was contested by those who stole his models, but the patent was issued. South Carolina, North Carolina and Tennessee each bought the right to use the cotton gin, but South Carolina and Tennessee repudiated their contracts. In addition to this, Whitney was involved in innumerable lawsuits with private individuals in defending his patent, so that, notwithstanding the great benefit which he conferred upon the cotton-growing states, he never received due financial reward from his patent. In 1798 he secured a government contract for the manufacture of firearms, and established his factory at Whitneyville, Connecticut, where he amassed a considerable fortune.

separate the seeds from little more than a pound of cotton in a day. One of Whitney's machines would perform the work of a hundred men, and this invention made the growing of cotton a profitable industry. This led to the enlarging of cotton plantations, which in turn made a demand for more slaves, so that the cotton gin was one of the chief factors in the development of an industrial system that terminated only with the Civil War.

"No other invention ever exerted so powerful and lasting an influence upon a country as has the invention of the cotton gin upon the United States. Macaulay says of it: 'What Peter the Great did to make Russia dominant, Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin has more than equaled in its relation to the power and progress of the United States.' " [1]

The records of the patent office at this time showed that one had invented a grain-cutter, another a simple form of thrashing machine, a third a diving apparatus similar to those now in use, and a fourth had discovered a crude process for changing iron into steel.

3. Manufactures.—The foundation of American cotton manufacture was laid during the period. Previous to this, wool and flax had furnished the fiber from which cloth was made, and all cotton goods were imported from England, where the invention of the carding machine, the mule-jenny and the power loom and the use of the steam engine in operating these had greatly increased the facilities for the manufacture of cotton.

[1] Rocheleau, *Products of the Soil.*

England intended to keep these inventions out of the United States, and heavy penalties were laid upon any who should send machines, designs or descriptions of machines to America. However, her efforts were utterly useless. England could not prevent the emigration of trained workmen and skilled mechanics, a number of whom came to New England. From their intimate acquaintance with the machines for carding, spinning and weaving cotton, these men were able to construct similar ones without models or drawings.

ELI WHITNEY

The most prominent of these mechanics was Samuel Slater, who in 1790 erected at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, a mill for spinning cotton yarn. He constructed the machines almost solely with his own hands, and started the first successful mill upon the Arkwright plan operated in America. The mill is still standing and in use, and the industry

founded by Mr. Slater grew to large proportions[1] under the management of his nephew, John. Up to this time not a yard of cotton goods had been made in the United States. Other mills followed, and in 1800 New England furnished a market for considerable of the cotton grown in the South.

The New England forests furnished material for ships, and their construction gave employment to many of the inhabitants of the seaport towns. Iron mills were increasing in number, and many of the common iron utensils came from American foundries. On the farms iron plows were replacing those of wood, and other farm implements from American shops were gradually but surely driving those of foreign make from the market. There were a few glass works and paper mills, but paper was scarce and expensive and the mills found great difficulty in securing enough material to keep them in operation and were constantly advertising for rags, the only material then used in the manufacture.

However, these constructive industries were only in their beginnings. The start had been made, but it was to be several decades before manufacturing would displace commerce, ship-building or fishing and take its place among the leading New England industries.

364. Commerce.—During 1800 our exports of mer-

[1] From the fortune which he accumulated John Slater contributed $1,000,000, the interest of which is to be used in the education of the negroes of the South. This gift is known as the Slater Fund, and is of very material assistance in removing the burden of illiteracy from the Southern states.

chandise amounted to $70,000,000, or $13.37 per capita, and our imports of the same to over $91,000,000, or $17.19 per capita. Until trouble with France and England drove our ships from the sea, they were found in all the ports of Europe as well as those of the West Indies which they were allowed to enter, and our wharves were crowded with merchandise. No less prosperous was the domestic trade. This was carried on between the agricultural districts and the towns and cities, and between the different sections of the country. New England obtained cotton from the South, and in return sent grain, fish and manufactures, and there was a growing trade between the different seaports.

365. Communication.—1. MEANS OF TRAVEL. — The mail road, extending from the Kennebec River to Georgia, and roads in the vicinity of the larger cities had been somewhat improved, but the country roads during the spring and autumn and after heavy rains were well-nigh impassable. In 1796 there was only one turnpike in the country. This was the Lancaster Pike, extending from Philadelphia to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a distance of sixty-six miles. In a journal of the time it is described as "paved with stone and overlaid with gravel." Stage coaches ran from Boston to New York three times a week, and the journey occupied three days. A trip from New York to Philadelphia required two days, and the time consumed in carrying the mail from Washington to New York was greater

than that now required to travel from New York to San Francisco.

The needs of better transportation facilities were keenly felt, and several companies had been organized for the construction of canals. Most of these disbanded before accomplishing anything except a sale of stock; but two were the originators of important inland water-

GILBERT STUART'S STUDIO, GERMANTOWN
A summerhouse used by Stuart in 1794.

ways. The Northern Navigation Company surveyed the route for a canal to connect the Hudson River with Lake Champlain, by way of Fort Edward. This canal was afterwards constructed and is still in use. The Western Navigation Company prospected several routes to connect Lake Ontario with the Hudson River. These may well be considered forerunners of the Erie Canal.

While the various canal projects were under discussion

several attempts were made to propel boats by steam power, and one of these, that of John Fitch, was in a measure successful, but it was not until the next decade that a practical steamboat was constructed (Section 440).

2. Postoffices.—In 1800 there were 903 postoffices in the country, and the receipts of the department for the year were nearly $281,000. In 1792 the scope of the department was enlarged and its duties extended. At this time rates of postage were fixed and newspapers were admitted to the mails, but no provision was made for books or magazines. The postage on letters was regulated by weight and distance. On a single letter—that is, one written on a single sheet of paper—it was six cents for any distance less than thirty miles. For longer distances the rate increased up to twenty-two cents for from three hundred fifty to four hundred fifty miles. Over four hundred fifty miles it was twenty-five cents. On letters carried between ports by boat the postage was eight cents. In large cities special delivery was provided for, and the carriers were paid two cents for each letter delivered. It required twenty days to carry mail from the Kennebec to Savannah, and twenty-two days from Washington to Nashville, Tenn. Envelopes were unknown. One page of the sheet of paper was left blank. The letter was then folded so as to resemble an ordinary envelope in form and size, with the blank page on the outside. This folded sheet was then sealed with wax and addressed on the back.

3. Periodicals.—Newspapers had multiplied rapidly, and almost every town had its local sheet. The subscription price of weekly journals like the *National Gazette* was $8.00 a year, and to this the new postal law added $4.68 for postage. However, in 1794 the postage was reduced to one cent a sheet for fifty miles, and a proportionate amount for greater distances. To us these prices seem exorbitant, but news was hard to get, paper was expensive, the presses were so crude that the most expert printer could not print more than two hundred copies an hour and this required the services of at least two men. No paper had reached a paid circulation of four thousand copies. Hence, notwithstanding the high price of subscription, the publisher did not receive a princely income.

The contents of these papers were in marked contrast to those of the modern city daily. Political essays and harangues (many of the latter none too choice in their language), descriptions of lawsuits, letters giving accounts of sections of the country visited by the writer, an occasional poem, a smattering of news, and, in papers circulating in rural communities, now and then some advice to the farmer, constituted the bulk of the matter. There were but few literary periodicals and no scientific journal had yet appeared.

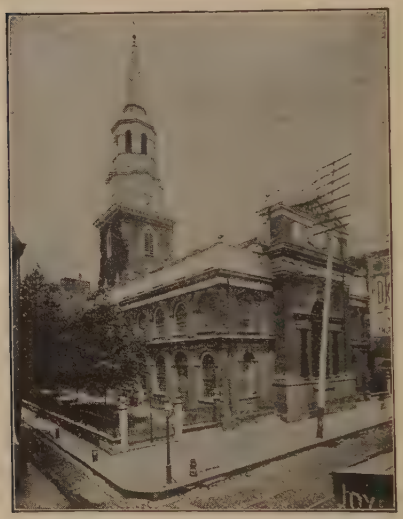
366. Education.—The national Constitution wisely left matters pertaining to public education to the states. Provision had already been made for setting apart one-

thirty-sixth of the public lands in the Northwest Territory for the support of common schools. The New England states continued their colonial systems of education. In 1795 New York provided temporarily for a system of public schools, and the other Middle states soon followed her example. No public school system had been established in any of the Southern states. Here the children of well-to-do planters were instructed by private tutors, and others received no instruction. The colleges held a prominent place in education and exerted a powerful influence upon the country.

367. Religion.—Most of the colonies were founded on the English plan of union of Church and State; and this helped to determine the systems of local government in a number of the original states. In the Southern states the Church of England, known to us as the Episcopal church, was dominant, and the parish was at first a political division for certain functions of local government. In New England the Congregationalists and Presbyterians were by far the strongest denominations, and there were a number of Baptists in Connecticut and Rhode Island. The Dutch Reformed Church was found in New York; the Quakers and German Lutherans were numerous in Pennsylvania, and the Roman Catholics had the largest following in and about Baltimore. The Methodist denomination, which had entered the country a few years before, was getting a strong foothold on

the frontier and in the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania.

In New England rigid Sabbath observance, which before the Revolution the law compelled, was fast disappearing, though the church practices and customs remained. Churches in those days had neither fireplace nor stove, and the only heat furnished on a cold winter day was that contributed by the few foot-stoves that were taken from home and contained live coals. There were two services, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, with an intermission of about one hour. The deacons sat in the front rows; the men occupied one side of the house and the women the other. The pulpit was on a high platform, and suspended above it was a trumpet-shaped sounding board. There were no musical instruments; the hymns or psalms were read two lines at a time by the minister, these were repeated by one of the deacons, then the precentor with his tuning-fork "pitched the



CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA
Built originally of wood in 1695; replaced with brick in 1731; afterward attended by Washington, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin. Queen Anne donated part of the communion service now in use.

tune" and led the congregation in singing. Prayer, scripture reading and the sermon constituted the other parts of the service.

368. Social Customs.—In the Northern states there was little distinction of classes in society, save a strong respect for the clergy and for high public officers. Master, journeyman and apprentice, housewife and maid, worked

MOUNT VERNON
The Washington homestead on the right bank of the Potomac, fifteen miles south of Washington. The mansion was built in 1743.

together, ate at the same table, attended church together and in every way were socially regarded as equals. In the large cities the servants constituted a class by themselves, and as one went farther south other class distinctions, based upon birth, wealth or position, began to appear.

Theaters were found in the cities and larger towns,

and those in Boston, New York and Philadelphia were elaborately decorated and furnished. But New England Puritanism frowned upon theater-going, as it did upon dancing, and in that section such amusements were not very generally patronized. The rural communities had their huskings, apple bees and raisings. The last occurred whenever a new building was erected, the frame being constructed of such heavy timbers that to put them in place required all the men of the neighborhood. A bountiful repast and athletic sports and games followed. A general holiday was held at the time of the annual muster, when the militia gathered at some central place for their yearly drill. Here were found side-shows consisting of trained bears, educated pigs, maimed Revolutionary soldiers and other curiosities, and these, together with the stands for the sale of popcorn, candy and cider, relieved the boys of all the pennies that had been hoarded for the occasion.

The social fabric of the South was entirely different. Here were practically four classes of society:

(1) The owners of large plantations and of large numbers of slaves. These men were wealthy; they erected upon their estates fine mansions, which were fitted out in the most approved style with furnishings and works of art imported from Europe. The families of this class looked down upon all who engaged in labor or trade. Many owned homes in Charleston or other cities, where they spent most of their time. The men were educated

in England and returned to this country to follow the customs and practices of a large class of the English nobility.

(2) The owners of small plantations and the traders, some of whom had a few slaves but were not men of wealth. These men engaged in the same pastimes and were addicted to the same vices as were the more wealthy class. While they scorned labor, they were compelled to a greater or less extent to engage in it. Their influence upon the community was demoralizing.

(3) The poor whites, made up of the descendants of indentured servants. They formed a class of loungers and loafers wholly worthless. They lived in abject poverty, scorned labor in any form, and often occupied cabins no better than the poorest of those occupied by the slaves.

(4) The negroes, nearly all of whom were held in slavery and were considered far below any class of the whites.

Here there were no huskings, apple bees or raisings. The planter belonged to the club, and amused himself at cards and took part in horse racing, which the southern gentleman thought was the finest of sports. His plantation was managed by an overseer. The proprietor was ever "at home" in his beautiful country mansion, the passing stranger being as welcome as an intimate friend. This beautiful custom continued until after the Civil War, and gave the South a well-earned reputation for hospitality

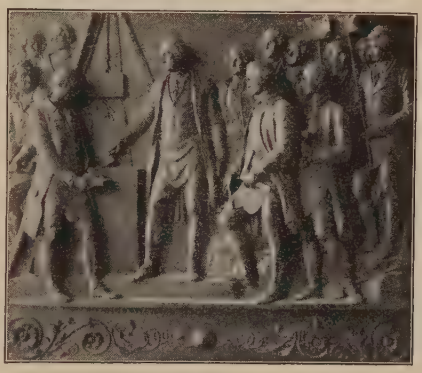
and social courtesy. The lower classes spent much of their time lounging about taverns and other public places, drinking, gambling and engaging in brawls. After the Revolution dueling became common among the higher classes, and public sentiment was such that those engaging in it were never punished.

369. The New Capital.—The Congress that met in New York located the national capital at Philadelphia for ten years from 1790, and after that at some point on the Potomac. After a protracted debate the present location was selected. Virginia and Maryland each ceded land on their respective banks of the river to form the required Federal District,[1] and the government assumed control over the hundred square miles of territory.[2] The present name for the Federal city was chosen, surveyors and architects were selected to plan and construct the public buildings, and prizes were offered for the best design for the capitol and for the president's house. The site of the city was on unoccupied land, and there were plenty of capitalists willing to purchase lots and hold them for a rise in value, but only a very few could be found who were willing to erect buildings. Virginia contributed $120,000 and Maryland $72,000 towards the erection of the capitol and president's house. These sums were not sufficient, and Con-

[1] Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, Cl. 17.

[2] In 1846 the government retroceded to Virginia the portion of the district lying south of the river.

gress borrowed $300,000 additional to complete the buildings. The opposition raised a great cry against what they termed this extravagance, declaring the erection of public buildings and the removal of the seat of government while the nation was still in debt to be an unnecessary waste of money.



LAYING CORNERSTONE OF THE CAPITOL, 1793
[From a panel in bronze door at entrance to the Capitol, Washington. Designed by Thomas Crawford.]

On June 15, 1800, the government offices were removed to their new home. The streets had been cut through forests, there were no walks, houses were few and incomplete and the families who came to Washington at this time suffered many inconveniences. The great majority of the people were the meanest, most degraded type, idle, intemperate, vicious. They would neither improve their property from a sense of personal pride or public duty, nor would they dispose of it at reasonable prices to others who would improve it. Business and industry hardly existed in or about the city. Social life was necessarily unrefined, for the only attractive place of residence where social courtesies could be extended was at Georgetown, several miles from the capital, and con-

nected with it only by the most miserable roadways. It is stated that Mrs. Adams used the reception room of the White House for the purpose of drying clothes. Gouverneur Morris, in a letter to a lady acquaintance in Europe in 1800, well described the situation in Washington, as follows:

"We want nothing here but houses, cellars, kitchens, well informed men, amiable women and other trifles of this kind to make our city perfect . . . if then you are desirous of coming to live at Washington, I hasten to assure you that freestone is very abundant here; that excellent bricks can be burned here; that there is no want of sites for magnificent hotels; that contemplated canals can bring a vast commerce to the place . . . in short, that it is the very best city in the world for future residence."

But as the years rolled on the wilderness receded, and in its place at the end of the century stood one of the most magnificent cities of the New World.

QUESTIONS

How did Georgia acquire her claim to the territory which in 1802 she ceded to the United States?

Compare the present opinion of lotteries with that held in 1795. How do you account for the change?

Why were more lotteries established in New England than in other sections?

What circumstances led to the different social conditions existing in the North and the South? How did these affect the political situation?

What is meant by the public domain? How was it created?

Account for the rapid growth of the American merchant marine.

Compare the price of newspapers in 1800 with that of to-day. How do you account for the change?

How do you account for the growth of each of the following cities: Boston, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia?

REFERENCES

A clear and concise account of the condition of the country is found in Scudder's *New History of the United States*, ch. vii.

The social conditions of the South are fully described in McMaster, vol. ii, ch. i, and of the North, in the same volume, ch. vii.

The social condition of the country is described in Andrews's *History of the United States*, vol. ii, ch. viii; and in Channing's *Students' History of the United States*, pp. 317–332.

WESTWARD THE COURSE OF EMPIRE TAKES ITS WAY

A painting by Emanuel Leutze in the Capitol, Washington. The portrait dimly visible in the right border is of Daniel Boone, and that at the left is of William Clark.

PART TWO

THE ERA OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1800–1829

PART TWO

THE ERA OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER VI

REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES APPLIED

1800-1805

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—With this chapter the student enters upon the study of a new régime. The political principles underlying the organization of the Republican party have been far-reaching in their influence upon our institutions. They should be carefully analyzed and compared with those established by the Federalists. Notice Jefferson's attitude towards appointments, and compare it with our present civil service system (See *Index*).

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370. Jefferson's Theory of Government. — Jefferson was the first president inaugurated at the new capital. At noon on March 4, 1801, he delivered his inaugural address before both houses of Congress, then took the oath of office.[1]

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[1] Conflicting accounts of this ceremony have been handed down to us from what seem to be equally good authorities. That found in most histories, and consequently the one most generally accepted, is that on the day of his inauguration, Jefferson, in accordance with his ideas of Republican simplicity, went on horseback to the Capitol, tied his horse to the picket fence inclosing the grounds, and then went before Congress and delivered his inaugural. No less authority than John Morse, editor of the American Statesmen series, adheres to this account and repeats it in his *Thomas Jefferson* in that series.

The following account McMaster and others declare to be the correct one: "At an early hour on Wednesday, March 4th, the city of Washington presented a spectacle of uncommon animation, occasioned by the addition to its

The address, while setting forth the principles upon which the Republican party was founded, was remarkable for its conciliatory tone. Jefferson's theory concerning the relations of the Federal government to the state governments he once expressed as follows:

"The true theory of our Constitution is surely the wisest and best—that the states are independent as to everything within themselves and united as to everything respecting foreign relations. Let the general government be reduced to foreign concerns only, and let our affairs be disentangled from those of all other nations, except as to commerce, which the merchants will manage better, the more they are left free to manage for themselves, and our general government may be reduced to a very simple organization and a very inexpensive one—a few plain duties to be performed by a few servants."

This view he held through life, and often reiterated it after retiring from public service. In his inaugural he stated that the government should manage foreign affairs and "should encourage commerce and agriculture and diffuse information. With these exceptions, the Federal government will undertake no domestic functions."

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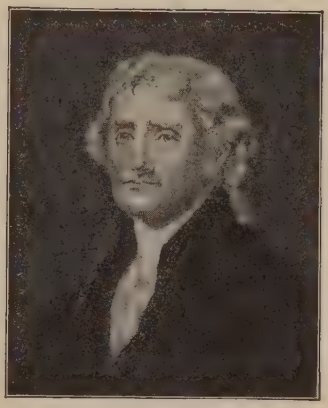
usual population of a large body of citizens from the adjacent districts. A discharge from a company of Washington artillery ushered in the day, and about ten o'clock the Alexandria Company of riflemen, with a company of artillery, paraded in front of the president's lodgings. At twelve o'clock, Thomas Jefferson, attended by a number of his fellow citizens, among whom were many members of Congress, repaired to the Capitol. His dress was, as usual, that of a plain citizen, without any distinctive badge of office. He entered the Capitol under a discharge from the artillery. As soon as he withdrew, a discharge of artillery was made. The remainder of the day was devoted to purposes of festivity, and at night there was a pretty general illumination." —McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, vol. ii.

In support of this theory, McMaster quotes the above description from the issue of the *Aurora* published March 11, 1801. There is also a similar account in a book entitled *Speech of Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States. Delivered at His Installment, March* 4, 1801, *at the City of Washington*. This work was published in Philadelphia the year of Jefferson's inauguration.

In regard to our international relations he believed that the United States should keep clear of all foreign alliances and that we should maintain a strict neutrality concerning European affairs, either of war or state. So far he agreed with the policy of his predecessors, but in the method by which he was to enforce these principles he differed radically from them. Jefferson believed that American commerce was so valuable to the nations of Europe that any of them would be glad to purchase it by complying with our requirements. In other words, he intended to coerce France and England into respecting our rights on the high seas and removing restrictions from our commerce by prohibiting commercial intercourse with these nations until they should show us the same courtesy and deference that they paid other nations. His attempt to carry out this policy some years later involved him in serious difficulty.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

In accordance with the above theory, Jefferson recommended the disbanding of a good part of the regular army, the reduction of the navy and the most rigid economy and simplicity in all government departments. He decried the intense party spirit and political intoler-

ance so prevalent at the time in the following characteristic words:

"We have called by different names the brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a Republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man at the call of law would fly to the standard of law and would meet invasions of the public order as his own private concern."

To the extreme partisans on both sides, the address was a disappointment, but the great mass of conservative citizens in both parties received it as a message of good will and as a state paper containing much good sense. When he had taken the oath of office, Jefferson was in position to put his theories of government to the test. He little dreamed how far-reaching some of them would become, or how soon some of them would be found wanting.

371. The Cabinet.—Two members of Adams's cabinet were retained—Samuel Dexter, secretary of the treasury, and Benjamin Stoddert, secretary of the navy. Madison was made secretary of state, and Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, soon succeeded Dexter in the treasury—an appointment that highly incensed the Federalists, but withal the best that Jefferson made during his presidential career. Of all the able men who have filled the office of secretary of the treasury, Hamilton alone was his superior and John Sherman his equal. Born and educated in Switzerland, Gallatin came to the United

States without money or friends. Settling on the frontier in Pennsylvania, he gradually rose from the position of an obscure country merchant to be one of the leaders of his party, and for twelve years the financial head of the nation. Madison was probably the ablest legislator in the country, but he was wholly without diplomatic experience and lacked in executive ability. His appointment was due more to Jefferson's personal friendship than to any special fitness which he possessed for the position.

372. Civil Service.—Many conflicting opinions have been expressed concerning Jefferson's policy towards government offices. He held:

(1) That all positions filled by President Adams after he knew the result of the election were vacant, and that the occupants were not to be considered candidates for reappointment. Therefore he filled these positions with Republicans, without even serving notices upon those who held them.

(2) That all vacancies occurring by reason of death or resignation should be filled from the Republican ranks until both parties were equally represented in the government service. After that, appointments were to be solely upon the fitness of the person for the position.

(3) That removals should be rare and should be confined to those who were incompetent, dishonest or otherwise unfit to hold public offices, and to those who in any way interfered with either state or national elections.

(4) That the Federal district attorneys and marshals should be replaced by Republicans. He gave as his reason for this position that the Federalists had complete control of the judiciary department of the government, and that since the judges could not be removed this was the only means of securing any check upon the Federalists and of giving the Republicans a voice in the management of that department.

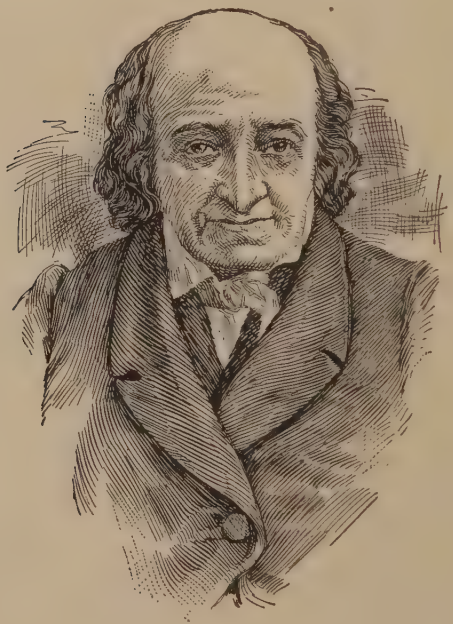
Considering the large number employed in the government service, the number of removals by Jefferson was exceedingly small, and the charge often made—that he was the originator of the spoils system in our national politics—is manifestly unjust. Some of his removals were unwise and some of his appointees were failures, but these do not warrant the violent attacks of the Federalists. Moreover, Jefferson had learned from his observations and experience during the preceding administration that no administration could succeed unless it had for advisers and coworkers those who agreed with it in policy and who were interested in the success of the measures adopted; and in making his appointments he did no more than Washington and Adams had done before him. Washington was careful to appoint to important positions only those who favored the Constitution and were in hearty sympathy with the new government. Adams did likewise. Up to this time no occasion had arisen for changes on political grounds, and in meeting the new conditions that

confronted his administration Jefferson was wisely conservative.

373. Financial Reform.—1. Reduction of Army and Navy.—The Republicans had always regarded the public debt as a source of corruption, and Gallatin so planned his financial system as to apply a portion of the government income to the reduction of the debt each year. He estimated the net receipts from customs, the sale of public lands and the postoffice department at $9,950,000 a year. In addition to this the receipts from internal taxes amounted to $650,000, making a total income of $10,600,000. Of this amount he estimated that $7,300,000 could be applied to the reduction of the debt, leaving $3,000,000 for the running expenses of the government. But since the internal taxes were exceedingly unpopular, he decided to repeal them and reduce the income for expenses to $2,650,000. Of this sum $930,000 was to be devoted to the support of the army and $670,000 to the navy. When this plan was presented to the secretaries of the army and navy their respective appropriations were increased to make the entire amount $1,900,000. This left only $750,000 for the expenses of the government outside the postoffice department.

In order to bring the military and naval expenses within their appropriations, the army was reduced from four thousand to twenty-five hundred, the navy from twenty-five vessels to seven, and the construction of

ships was stopped, several being left to rot on the stocks. Fortifications were abandoned, and skilled officers in both the army and the navy were dismissed. At this time Europe was in a turbulent state; war was liable to break out at any moment; Spain had control of the Mississippi, and the British ships were continuing to impress our seamen. To practically remove all means of defense in the face of these conditions showed Jefferson to be a man of remarkable optimism and courage. He had faith that he could accomplish by diplomacy what we could not do by force. Some of his measures succeeded, but on the whole his policy was futile.



ALBERT GALLATIN

2. Government Expenses.—The number of clerks and officers in all departments was reduced to the lowest possible limit, and many officers in foreign countries were

recalled, the offices being abolished and their duties transferred to the consuls. By this means a considerable reduction was made in the running expenses, but this was of short duration. Notwithstanding all efforts at curtailment, the rapid growth of the country caused the expenses of the government to increase from year to year. In 1802 they amounted to $3,700,000, which was $700,000 more than they had ever reached under the Federalists, and in 1809 they were $7,500,000.

3. Results.—The success of Gallatin's plan was phenomenal. The abolition of the internal taxes was a master-stroke of policy that won for the administration the praise of all classes, regardless of party, and the loss in revenue was more than restored by the increased receipts from customs, which the first year amounted to $16,000,000. Notwithstanding the continual increase in government expenses, the debt was reduced each year. At the beginning of Jefferson's administration our national debt exceeded $80,000,000. When he retired from office it had been reduced to $45,000,000. The charge for interest was only about one-half what it was at the beginning, and in 1809, for the first time in its history, the government found itself in possession of more money than it could use. That there was too sweeping a reduction in the army, and especially in the navy, future events proved; yet no very serious results followed this reduction. Taken as a whole, Gallatin's financial measures have not since been excelled

in their importance and effect upon the country, even by the refunding measures of John Sherman, his greatest successor; among the events of Jefferson's administration they are in importance second only to the purchase of Louisiana.

374. Attack on the Judiciary.—1. Circuit Courts Abolished.—While the Federalists were unsparing in their denunciation of Jefferson for his removal of the district attorneys and marshals, their act establishing the circuit courts and the manner in which the positions this act created were filled was a much less defensible measure. For twelve years the judiciary had been satisfactory under the act of 1789 by which it was established. The only changes that had been made during this time consisted in the creation of new districts as new states were admitted. The judiciary act of 1801, which repealed the former act, established six circuit and twenty-two district courts, abolished the district courts of Kentucky and Tennessee, contained a provision that the first vacancy in the associate justiceships should not be filled; another relieved the justices of the Supreme Court from riding the circuit, and a third called for the appointment of sixteen circuit judges. As we have seen, the filling of these appointments was one of Adams's last acts (Section 349).

Had these places been left for the incoming administration to fill, the Republicans might have looked upon the law with greater favor, as it then would have given

them control of this branch of the Federal judiciary. Be this as it may, the Republicans had always looked with disfavor upon the judiciary department. The Supreme Court was established by the Constitution, and the Republicans could not abolish it, but they could by legislation cripple its usefulness, and this they proceeded to do. The law reorganizing the Federal courts was repealed, the August term of the Supreme Court was abolished and the justices again set to riding the circuits.

Adams's judiciary act was manifestly for partisan purposes and was, to say the least, unwise. The "midnight judges" made the measure exceedingly odious to the new administration, and the Seventh Congress did not hesitate to repeal the law, and at the same time, as we have seen, to restrict the usefulness of the Supreme Court. For the first part of this measure the Republicans were undoubtedly justified. The circuit courts were not needed at the time, and the judiciary on the old plan continued to meet the demands of the country without such courts until 1869.[1]

2. The Impeachment of Judges.—However justifi-

[1] The present system of Federal courts consists of one Supreme Court, with a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices; seventy-two District Courts, usually with a judge for each district; nine Circuit Courts; nine Circuit Courts of Appeals, and a Court of Claims. With the exception of the first and fourth circuits, each Circuit Court has three judges. The law requires that each Justice of the Supreme Court shall hold court in his district at least once in two years. The judges entitled to sit on the Circuit Courts are the Justice of the Supreme Court belonging to the district, circuit judges and the district judges in the circuit. The Court of Claims adjusts claims against the government. It consists of a Chief Justice and four Associates, and holds a session in Washington once a year. (Consult James and Sanford, *Government in State and Nation*, pp. 303–306.)

able was the repeal of the judiciary act, the method of impeachment[1] and removal of judges from the Federal courts was of more doubtful propriety. The first case was that of Judge Pickering for the district of New Hampshire. He ordered a certain ship which had been seized by the customs officers to be released and the goods restored. The collector of customs charged that Pickering was grossly intoxicated at the time, and that he was not fit to discharge the duties of his office and should be removed.

President Jefferson laid this matter before the House in a special message, and a resolution of impeachment was passed, after a heated discussion in which John Randolph led the party in favor of prosecution. When the case came to trial before the Senate Judge Pickering did not appear, but a petition from his son, stating that the judge was insane, was presented, and the Senate was asked to delay the trial. No delay, however, was granted; the case was tried and Pickering condemned without being present or being able to make any defense. A later investigation proved that the statement as to his insanity was true, and while his decision in the case was undoubtedly correct and his conduct of the trial regular, it was shown that his mental condition was such at the time that he was not responsible for his acts.

[1] See United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 3, Cls. 6 and 7; and Art. I, Sec. 2, Cl. 5.

A second case was that of Justice Chase of the Supreme Court. Chase was a judge of the highest integrity, but on various occasions in his charges to the grand jury in his district he had delivered what might justly be considered partisan political speeches. To this offense were added several minor instances of misconduct during the trial of criminal cases in Pennsylvania. Judge Chase made elaborate preparation for his defense, as did the managers for his conviction, and the trial brought together the most brilliant array of legal talent that up to this time had gathered at Washington.

As the trial proceeded the case of the managers[1] grew weaker, and when the vote of the Senate was taken Chase was acquitted on every charge; the prosecution utterly broke down and the impeachment was a thorough defeat for the administration. However, it taught two valuable lessons: the first, that two-thirds of the United States Senate could not be found to vote for the conviction of a trusted and tried official on mere partisan grounds; the second, that the executive department could not meddle with the affairs of the judiciary department without first having very strong reasons for so doing. The latter lesson, particularly, has been heeded not only by Jefferson, but by all of his successors, since a similar attempt has never been made.

[1] By the United States Constitution, the House of Representatives has the sole power of impeachment, and the Senate must try all impeachment cases. The House chooses managers or prosecutors and the trial is conducted as an ordinary criminal trial. A two-thirds majority of the Senate is required for conviction.

375. War with the Barbary States.—One of the most humiliating episodes in our history was our subservience to the petty states of northern Africa—Algiers, Tunis

A MOORISH SENTINEL
A painting by Clairin, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

and Tripoli—during the first years of our national existence; but there is some compensation for this humiliation in the recollection that the United States was the

first power to compel these semi-barbarous countries to cease their piratical depredations. For years corsairs from these countries made a practice of capturing merchantmen in the Mediterranean, confiscating their goods, taking captive their officers and crew, and holding them for ransom. England and France could easily have stopped these depredations, but neither was seriously affected and therefore gave no attention to them.' Other nations purchased immunity by paying high tribute each year, and when our government was first organized Washington adopted this policy, at the same time recommending the construction of a navy that would enable us to enforce our rights in the Mediterranean.

Early in Jefferson's administration these depredations upon American commerce became unbearable, and, whatever his theories were in regard to the maintenance of peace with all the world, he justly decided that he should not suffer the insults offered by these petty states to go unpunished. A squadron under Commodore Dale was ordered to the Mediterranean to protect American shipping. In August, 1801, one of Dale's vessels captured a Tripoli cruiser. Two years later Commodore Preble was placed in command and the fleet was increased by the addition of some light cruisers that could sail farther up the shallow harbors. Captain Bainbridge, while following a cruiser into one of these harbors, had his ship, the *Philadelphia*, grounded on a

rock and captured. He and his crew were taken prisoners and held for ransom. Lieutenant Decatur, under the cover of night, entered the harbor, boarded the *Philadelphia* and burned her to the water's edge, escaping without the loss of a man. Following this, several corsair ships were captured or sunk, and a land force, made up of the Pasha's disaffected subjects and under the command of an American named Eaton, captured the city of Tripoli. As a result of these combined attacks the Pasha was forced to make a treaty, in which he agreed not to molest American merchantmen in the future, though in order to secure a satisfactory pledge the United States paid

STEPHEN DECATUR
[From a painting by Gilbert Stuart in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

him $60,000 as tribute money. In 1815 similar depredations called for a second punishment, which was so severe that no further trouble has arisen with these countries.

This war not only allayed the danger to our ships in the Mediterranean, but it likewise showed the administration and the country the necessity and importance of a navy. Jefferson favored a navy chiefly for coast defense and disposed of nearly all our ships of war, substituting therefor light gunboats. These were inefficient in inland waters and unseaworthy on the open ocean. Happily, they were never called into service, and in succeeding administrations were condemned and laid aside. When it was decided to compel the Barbary States to cease their depredations, our feeble frigates were unsuitable for the work, and in 1803 Congress resumed the Federalists' policy of building a navy. Four vessels of light draft were ordered and completed in 1805. The effective work of our navy in this war attracted the attention of Europe, and the practice and training which the officers received gave them excellent preparation for the struggle that was to come.

376. Louisiana.—One of the chief planks in the platform on which Jefferson was elected was that declaring for a strict construction of the Constitution. But as president, he soon discovered that the full application of this principle to the practical affairs of government would not be for the best interests of the country.

In consummating the greatest act of his administration Jefferson believed, and frankly stated, that he exceeded his constitutional authority. This was in the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803. In extenuation of the act the President pleaded the great advantage of the purchase to the United States and the danger of delay, and the country sustained him. (See Chapter VII.)

377. Admission of Ohio.—In 1802 a committee was appointed by Congress to inquire into the fitness of the Territory of Ohio to become a state. The committee recommended the passage of an enabling act, making the boundary the same as that laid down in 1787, and also suggested that a convention of delegates be called to consider the advisability of forming a state.

To this convention Congress submitted three important propositions, the understanding of which requires a brief survey of the condition of public lands in the territory. Originally Ohio was claimed by Virginia, Connecticut and New York, by charter claims and Indian conquest (See Sections 69, 139 and 315). Virginia ceded her claims to the United States in 1784, and Connecticut two years later, but in making these cessions each state reserved a portion of its territory. That reserved by Virginia was known as the Virginia Military Reserve, and consisted of a triangular tract of land west of the Scioto River. The portion reserved by Connecticut, and known as the Western Reserve, extended one

hundred twenty miles west from the western boundary of Pennsylvania and formed the present northeastern portion of Ohio.

The territory could not tax lands belonging to the United States, and the government was selling the lands on a plan which allowed the purchaser five years in which to make full payment. The secretary of the treasury held that lands so purchased could not be taxed until full payment had been made and the title had passed to the purchaser. The following propositions were therefore brought before the Ohio convention:

ALGERIAN PIRATE SHIP
About 1800.

(1) That the State of Ohio should exempt from taxation for a term of five years from the date of purchase all lands purchased from the United States; (2) that the United States grant each township the sixteenth section for school purposes; (3) that the United States should apply one-twentieth of the net proceeds of the sales of public lands within

the state to the construction of roads either within the state or leading to it.

The Ohio convention agreed to accept the proposition to exempt lands purchased of the government from taxation on the following conditions: That the land grant be so modified as to vest the title of all school lands in the state instead of in the people of the various townships; that the same amount of land be granted for educational purposes within the Virginia and Western Reserves and the lands thereafter to be obtained from the Indians, as that set apart in the original proposition; that the state be given a township for a seminary, and that three per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of public lands in Ohio be devoted to the construction of roads within the state. These conditions were accepted by Congress, and Ohio was admitted in 1803. With the acceptance of this agreement the policy concerning the use of public lands for educational purposes in all the future states was definitely settled, and for this reason the admission of Ohio marks an important step in the educational development of the country.[1]

378. Territories.—The year following the purchase of

[1] The first settlement in Ohio was in 1787–8, by a company of emigrants from Massachusetts, under the leadership of General Rufus Putnam. They went down the Ohio River from Pittsburg in a flatboat and settled at Marietta. Dr. Manasseh Cutler was one of the leaders in the enterprise, and he was largely instrumental in securing the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 in its present form. He was also influential in securing the adoption of the present land system, which was first used with the sale of public lands in the original Northwest Territory. Settlements were soon made at Cincinnati and what is now South Bend, Indiana, and immigration came into the new territory so rapidly that within sixteen years it was ready for statehood.

Louisiana, that region was divided by Congress into the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana. The territory was given the boundaries of the present State of Louisiana, and the territorial government was immediately organized. In 1805 what is now known as the lower peninsula of Michigan was organized into the Territory of Michigan, the seat of government was located at Detroit and General William Hull was appointed governor. When he reached his destination Governor Hull found the town in ashes and the inhabitants dwelling in tents or living in the neighboring French settlements. He assumed authority to preëmpt public land and lay out a new town on a much larger scale than the old one. Settlers were eager to purchase lots, and a petition to Congress secured the confirmation to their titles. While much of the original plan has been obliterated, enough of it still remains to remind the visitor that it formed the beginnings of the present city of Detroit.

379. The Constitution Amended.—During Jefferson's first term, the rapid growth of the country, as well as the peculiar political developments under the Constitution, caused several amendments to be proposed. Jefferson desired an amendment that would make the acquisition of foreign territory constitutional. The Federalists of Massachusetts wanted the clause granting representation on the basis of slave population repealed. After Judge Chase's trial and acquittal, Randolph,

smarting under defeat, wished to have the Constitution so changed that judges could be removed by the president, and Nicholson of Maryland offered an amendment to the effect that states should be given power to recall their senators whenever they thought proper. None of these suggestions, however, received serious consideration, but before the next presidential election the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution was sent out to the states and ratified.[1] The near approach to a crisis in the last election showed clearly that the existing plan was defective and that provision should be made for voting for president and vice-president separately. Under the plan then adopted our elections have been held for over a century, and only once—in 1876—have we encountered conditions for which it or the laws enacted under it did not provide. (See *Index*.)

MONTICELLO

The home of Thomas Jefferson, near Charlottesville, Albemarle County, Va. It was planned by Jefferson and used by him as a residence from 1770 till his death in July, 1826. Soon after, it was sold by his heirs.

The Federalists opposed this amendment with all their

[1] See Constitution, Art. XII of Amendments.

force, claiming that its only purpose was to assure the reëlection of Jefferson. It is interesting to notice that in the discussion upon this amendment the two parties completely changed their attitude toward the Constitution. Previous to this time the Federalists had been considered the party of "loose construction," while the Republicans had been the "strict constructionists," but upon this question the Federalists demanded the strictest construction of the Constitution and claimed that the measure was unconstitutional because the resolution upon which it was founded failed to receive a two-thirds vote of all the senators. It did, however, receive more than a two-thirds vote of the members present.

The Republicans, on the other hand, adopting the view of loose constructionists, claimed that the amendment was constitutional; that it was not opposed to the rights of state governments, and did not confer upon the Federal government any authority that it did not already hold. During the three years of Jefferson's administration the Republicans had continued to increase in strength, and the Federalists' opposition to the amendment was fruitless, while their extreme partisan views on the measure reflected on their patriotism and injured their cause.

380. Jefferson Reëlected.—The presidential election of 1804 was conducted on the new plan. Previous to this, candidates for state offices had now and then been nominated at party caucuses, but no national officers had been selected in this way. Early in June the Re-

publican members of Congress met in caucus and nominated Jefferson by acclamation. They then took an informal ballot for vice-president. George Clinton received the majority of votes and was declared the candidate. Burr, who had become extremely unpopular, did not receive a vote. With the close of his term as vice-president he was to retire from public life, in the following years to bring sorrow and disgrace upon the country that honored him; but this story must be told in a separate chapter.

Jefferson's administration had been successful beyond the most sanguine expectations. He was at the height of his popularity and received an overwhelming majority in the electoral college, which cast one hundred sixty-two votes for him and Clinton, and fourteen for the Federalist candidates, C. C. Pinckney and Rufus King. Previous to the election there were some dissensions in the Republican ranks, which the Federalists hoped to turn to their advantage; but in this they were mistaken, and, much to the chagrin of the Federalists, the Republicans for once carried Massachusetts, which had been stanchly Federalist up to that time.

QUESTIONS

What were the principles of the Republican party?

To what extent did Jefferson change his views concerning the Constitution after he became president? Account for this change.

What effect did Gallatin's financial policy have upon the country?

Was the act abolishing the circuit judges wise? Give reasons for your answer.

What important policy was established at the admission of Ohio?

On what grounds did the Federalists oppose the Twelfth Amendment?

What made Jefferson's administration popular?

What did we gain from the war with Tripoli?

REFERENCES

A good account of Jefferson's inauguration is found in McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, vol. ii, pp. 533–537; also in *Thomas Jefferson*, American Statesmen series, pp. 209–216. Jefferson's political precepts are clearly set forth in Gordy's *History of Political Parties in the United States*, chs. xix–xxiii. His policy is clearly and fairly discussed in Hart's *Formation of the Union*, pp. 176–183.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Jefferson inaugurated	Mar. 4, 1801
War with Barbary States	1801
Repeal of Judiciary Act	1802
Louisiana purchased; Ohio admitted	1803
Impeachment of Judges Pickering and Chase	1803–1804
Territories of Orleans and Louisiana organized; Twelfth Amendment ratified; Jefferson re-elected	1804
Territory of Michigan organized	1805

CHAPTER VII

EXTENDING THE NATIONAL DOMAINS

1803-1807

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—Sketch a map of the United States, then outline upon it the territory included in the Louisiana Purchase. What states and territories have been formed from this territory? Compare the resources and present wealth of these states with those of the thirteen original states. Compare the inhabitants of Louisiana at the time of its purchase with those of the other states and consider whether or not the accession of Louisiana has exerted any marked influence on our national character. You should gain a good idea of the historical phase of this subject by reading the story of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from some authentic history of Europe, such as the *Medieval and Modern History* of this series.

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381. French and Spanish Claims in America.—By the Treaty of Paris in 1763 France relinquished her claims to nearly all her territory in America, assigning all east of the Mississippi, except two small islands south of Newfoundland and the Isle of Orleans, to England, and all west of the Mississippi, together with the Isle of Orleans, upon which New Orleans was situated, to Spain. After the signing of this treaty the Spanish possessions in North America extended from the Isthmus of Darien to Canada, including Central America, Mexico and all of what is now the United States west of the Mississippi River. By the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, England retroceded Florida to Spain in exchange for the

Bahamas, so that when our independence was acknowledged by Great Britain Spain had firm control of the Mississippi at its mouth. No sooner had immigration into the Ohio Valley begun than the importance of the Mississippi as an outlet for the products of the West was realized. Jefferson, when secretary of state, saw this fact more clearly than did others, and at his earliest opportunity (1795) negotiated a treaty with Spain, securing the free navigation of the river and a port of deposit at New Orleans, where American boats could exchange lading with ocean-going ships and American goods could be kept in storage. This privilege was granted at New Orleans for three years, and thereafter until another place was provided. His ultimate purpose at this time was the purchase of such territory near the mouth of the Mississippi as would afford the United States ample accommodations for both commercial and naval purposes. This, however, was not mentioned to the Spanish authorities, since Jefferson felt that they were not ready to entertain such a proposition. This treaty quieted the western settlers (Section 318) and under it satisfactory relations were maintained until 1800, when the intendant—as the Spanish governor at New Orleans was called—placed such restrictions upon the use of that port by American vessels as to practically annul the terms of the compact.

When the position of the intendant became known, the bold frontiersmen of the Ohio Valley were for

shouldering their rifles and driving the Spaniards out of the territory. Such was the state of feeling that it required considerable tact and firmness on the part of Jefferson to prevent hostilities. He assured the settlers that the intendant had exceeded his authority, and that the Spanish government would not sustain him. In this theory Jefferson was right, as later investigations showed, but before the difficulty could be adjusted with Spain, affairs took a surprising and more alarming turn.

When Napoleon became first consul he determined to extend the French colonial possessions and to humble England. At this time Charles IV was king of Spain, but his wife, Maria Louisa of Parma, as the power behind the throne, was the real ruler. Napoleon promised Maria Louisa that he would interfere in behalf of her brother, the Duke of Parma, and make him king of Tuscany. At Napoleon's earnest solicitation, and in gratitude to him for his promise, the queen ceded Louisiana back to France by a secret treaty signed at Ildefonso, October 1, 1800. *The transfer was not made public until 1802.

382. San Domingo.—There is no doubt that Napoleon intended to develop Louisiana and make it a means of extending the power of France in the New World, but in the year following the Treaty of Ildefonso serious difficulty arose in San Domingo, which France had acquired by the Treaty of Basel in 1795. Previous to the signing of this treaty the blacks, under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture, had become free and were

living under a government largely their own. At first Toussaint aided the French officials, but in 1801 Napoleon decided to again subdue this people to slavery and

(*Copyright 1901, Detroit Photographic Company.*)

CASTLE OF DIEGO COLUMBUS, SAN DOMINGO
Ruins of a castle built by a son of Christopher Columbus.

sent twenty-five thousand troops for the purpose. The blacks retreated to the mountains and conducted a desultory warfare, in which the French were decidedly the losers. Finally Toussaint was captured by treachery

and taken to France, where he died in a dungeon. Thereafter the blacks waged a war of extermination against the French. Aided by the disease which attacked the French troops, the negroes were able to reduce the invading army almost to helplessness. Napoleon, in order to regain San Domingo, was compelled to send thither the army he had intended for Louisiana, and thus was delayed in carrying out his American plans.

383. Louisiana Purchased. — When the news that Louisiana had been ceded to France reached the United States, it filled the minds of American statesmen with dismay. As long as the territory remained under the flag of a weak nation there was no difficulty in negotiating such terms as we desired, with every prospect of acquiring a part or the whole of the territory in the future; but for France to secure control of Louisiana meant either a serious conflict with the French or certain disaster to the United States. No one appreciated this more fully than Jefferson or saw more clearly the inevitable result. He had often been accused by his enemies of being a warmer friend of France than he was of his own country, but the transfer of Louisiana disproved all such theories. He immediately wrote Robert R. Livingston, who was the United States minister to France, setting forth clearly and strongly the situation, and directing him to call the attention of the French government to the feeling in the United States, which

GOLDEN GATE CANYON, YELLOWSTONE PARK

was tending strongly against French occupation. In the letter he said:

"The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France works most sorely on the United States. . . . It completely reverses all the political relations of the United States. There is on the globe one single spot the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans. . . . It is impossible that France and the United States can continue warm friends when they meet in so irritable a position. We must be very improvident if we do not begin to make arrangements on that hypothesis. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

While the House was engaged in a protracted discussion over the action of the Spanish intendant at New Orleans, Jefferson was busy with his own plans. He felt that Livingston should be reënforced by an envoy fresh from the United States, who from personal contact with the people knew the feeling in regard to the occupation of Louisiana by the French. He therefore recommended that James Monroe be sent as a special ambassador and minister plenipotentiary to France and to Spain. The Senate confirmed this appointment, and Congress voted two million dollars which the ministers could use as they saw fit in securing the cession of territory at the mouth of the Mississippi, including New Orleans. But Talleyrand was still minister of foreign affairs, and he had no intention of selling Louisiana, whatever Napoleon might have thought about so doing; consequently Livingston's letters never reached the First

Consul. Livingston soon suspected Talleyrand's duplicity and communicated directly with Napoleon, who promised payment of the claims due Americans, but did not commit himself on Louisiana.

GIANT GEYSER IN ACTION
One of the beauties of Yellowstone Park, secured to the United States by the Louisiana Purchase.

However, affairs were rapidly coming to a crisis. Napoleon was in a controversy with England over Malta, and declared "he must have Malta or war." He saw that peace with England could not long be maintained, and resolved to prepare for war. To do this he needed ready money, and how could he obtain it so easily as by the sale of Louisiana? Therefore, without consulting with anybody, he determined to sell the territory to the United States on the best terms he could secure. It is quite probable he was assisted in arriving at this con-

clusion by a suggestion of several British journals to the effect that Great Britain at once send a fleet to take possession of New Orleans. In case of war he might lose Louisiana to the English. If it were sold to the United States this could never happen. Therefore, when Monroe reached Paris, Talleyrand had already approached

THE UNITED STATES BEFORE AND AFTER THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

Livingston with an inquiry as to the amount that the United States would pay for the territory. Livingston believed this amount should not exceed twenty million francs. This sum the French minister declared to be altogether too small, and departed. After Monroe's arrival, Marbois, the French minister of finance, offered to sell the entire territory for one hundred million francs

and the debts which France owed to American citizens, estimated at about twenty-five million more. This the American ministers declared exorbitant, and on further negotiation it was agreed that the United States should pay sixty million francs and also assume the debts due American citizens to the amount of twenty millions. Reduced to United States money, this means that we were to pay France eleven million two hundred fifty thousand dollars and assume debts to the amount of three million seven hundred fifty thousand dollars, in consideration of which all the claims of France to the territory of Louisiana were to be transferred to the United States.

384. The Treaty.—The treaty, signed April 30, 1803, included three provisions:

(1) That the purchase price was to be paid in six per cent stock, with interest payable semiannually at London, Paris and Amsterdam. The payment of the principal was to begin fifteen years after the ratification of the treaty, and to continue in yearly installments of not less than three million dollars each.

(2) The debt assumed was to be paid to none but creditors of France for supplies, for losses by embargoes, and for losses sustained at sea before September 30, 1800, and the amount so paid should not exceed twenty million francs.

(3) The third provision stipulated that as soon as possible the inhabitants of Louisiana should be incor-

porated into the Union and given all the rights and immunities of citizens of the United States, and that they should meantime be protected in the possession of their liberty and property and in the exercise of the religion they professed. This section of the treaty also provided that ships from France and her colonies and Spain and her colonies should for the space of twelve

THE OLD CABILDO, NEW ORLEANS
In which the formal transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States took place. As it appeared at that time.

years enter any ports of Louisiana without paying any more duty or tonnage than was exacted from citizens of the United States in bringing goods directly from France or Spain or their colonies.

The treaty allowed each party six months in which to consider it before it should become binding. When presented to the United States Senate in October it was ratified after some discussion, and the ratification on the part of Napoleon was already in the hands of the French

minister to the United States, so that before the expiration of the six months all terms had been complied with and the treaty had become effective.

385. The Transfer.—In December the United States took formal possession of the territory. The transfer was accomplished at New Orleans, where Laussat, the French governor, handed over the territory to the American commissioners, General James Wilkinson and W. C. C. Claiborne. In the presence of the military and the populace, the French tricolor was lowered and the "Stars and Stripes" given to the breeze, and Louisiana was ours.

"Neither Livingston, Monroe nor Jefferson had thought it possible to acquire New Orleans; with 880,000 square miles of other territory it was tossed into the lap of the United States as the Sultan throws a purse of gold to a favorite."[1]

386. Spain Objects.—When Spain learned of the sale of Louisiana, she sent Napoleon a vigorous protest against its transfer to the United States, claiming that the Treaty of Ildefonso explicitly provided that should France at any time alienate the territory it should be ceded back to Spain. In consideration of this clause she claimed the sale was illegal and warned the United States not to take possession of Louisiana. To this warning, however, we gave no heed. Mr. Madison, secretary of state, instructed the United States minister at Madrid to inform the Spanish court that the United States would maintain its rights in the territory, and to

[1] Hart, *Formation of the Union.*

guard against any resistance to our occupancy troops were raised to be sent to New Orleans. They were not needed. Spain knew better than to attempt forcible resistance, since that might lead to a coalition between England and the United States, in which case she would lose all her American possessions. We had acquired rightful title to the territory, and with the agreement between France and Spain we were not concerned.

387. The Territory.—Napoleon sold and Jefferson bought they knew not what. All parties to the transaction were almost totally ignorant of the territory that had changed hands. During the forty years of Spanish rule there had been no attempt to explore or develop the region. But when it became a part of our public domain every citizen wanted to know about its boundaries, people and resources.

1. Boundaries.—The boundaries were indefinite and uncertain. When the United States received the territory the eastern boundary was the Mississippi River from its source to the thirty-first parallel, and extending eastward to include New Orleans; but no one knew where the source of the Mississippi was, and the eastern boundary, south of the thirty-first parallel, was also a matter of dispute. The United States claimed the territory as far as the Perdido River, but the only claim east of the Mississippi that the Spaniards would acknowledge was the Island of New Orleans. While the Gulf formed the southern boundary, it was uncertain whether

this extended westward to the Sabine or to the Rio Bravo. The mountains were believed to bound it on the west, and the British possessions on the north, but no one could tell where either of these lines of separation was located, and a definite boundary was not fixed until 1819.

2. The Inhabitants.—Under Spanish rule the terri-

THE OLD CABILDO, NEW ORLEANS
As it stands to-day. Now used by United States circuit court.

tory had been divided into Louisiana and Upper Louisiana or Spanish Illinois, the dividing line corresponding to the present northern boundary of Tennessee. In 1799 the population of Upper Louisiana was estimated at six thousand, and the people were scattered among a number of small settlements along the banks of the Missouri and Mississippi. Louisiana was estimated to con-

tain thirty-six thousand people, nearly all of whom dwelt south of the Arkansas. The majority of these inhabitants were French and Spanish creoles, to whom the transfer to the United States meant nothing. They knew nothing of the United States, its form of government or its institutions. However, in a few years they were to become loyal and enthusiastic subjects of the great Republic that had taken them under its care. In the following year Louisiana was separated into the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana. The Territory comprised so much of Louisiana as lay south of Mississippi Territory and south of the thirty-third parallel to the western boundary of Louisiana. This was organized under a territorial government and given the benefit of United States laws. The administration of the District of Louisiana was given in charge of the governor and judges of the Territory of Indiana.

3. Resources.—The wonderful fertility of the soil, the valuable mineral deposits, vast grazing regions and magnificent scenery to be found within the borders of Louisiana were all unknown. It was believed, even by Jefferson, that most of the region was worthless, and he purchased it, not for its resources, but to prevent its occupation by other powers, and to give us absolute control of the Mississippi.

But what knowledge lacked, imagination was ready to supply, and the most chimerical ideas concerning the physical features, the inhabitants and the resources were

advanced. One of these even found its way into a document which the president laid before Congress.

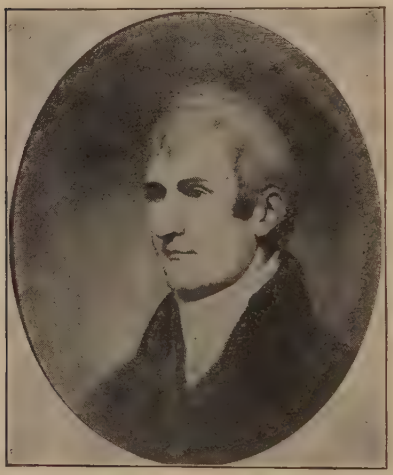
"It told of a tribe of Indians of gigantic stature; of tall bluffs faced with stone and carved by the hand of nature into what seemed a multitude of antique towers; of land so fertile as to yield the necessaries of life almost spontaneously; of an immense prairie covered with buffalo and producing nothing but grass, because the soil was far too rich for the growth of trees, and how, a thousand miles up the Missouri, was a vast mountain of salt. The length was one hundred eighty miles; the breadth was forty-five. Not a tree, not so much as a shrub was on it, but all glittering white it rose from the earth, a solid mountain of rock salt, with streams of saline waters flowing from the seams and cavities at its base. The story, the account admitted, might well seem incredible, but unhappily for the doubters, bushels of the salt had been shown by traders to the people at St. Louis and Marietta."[1]

The race of giants was never found. The fertile soil, the herds of buffalo and the vast plains were there, and the picturesque heights proved to be the towering peaks of the Rocky Mountains, whose real grandeur even surpassed that of the fabled towers. What conclusions might have been drawn had the existence of the marvelous hot springs, geysers, waterfalls and canyons of the Yellowstone region even been suggested!

388. Explorations.—1. Lewis and Clark's Expedition.—As far back as 1792, long before he entertained the idea of Louisiana's becoming a part of the United States, Jefferson urged the American Philosophical Society to send an expedition into the far Northwest, and some funds were collected for the purpose, but nine years elapsed before any such expedition started. When

[1] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, vol. ii.

Jefferson became president, the act establishing trading posts with the Indians on the Missouri was about to expire, and it was decided to send an expedition to explore the country. Captain Meriweather Lewis, Jefferson's private secretary, was selected to command the expedition, and Captain William Clark was made second in command.



MERIWEATHER LEWIS
[From a painting by Charles Wilson Peale, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

Their instructions, received from Jefferson, ordered them to ascend the Missouri to its source, to discover, if possible, the source of the Mississippi and the true position of the Lake of the Woods, then to cross the Stony Mountains, and when they had found the nearest river flowing into the Pacific to follow it to the sea. They were to make careful observations of the mouths of rivers, falls, rapids, islands and portages, and to locate each of these by the most careful astronomical observations. They were to make a careful study of the Indians, noting the different tribes met, the languages spoken, the laws and customs prevailing among them, their habits, occupations and reli-

gious beliefs. They were also to make note of the animals found, the mineral resources, the plants and the physical geography of the country, and to notice the condition of the portage between the waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico and those flowing into the Pacific. All these observations were to be recorded in a daily journal.

The expedition set out in the fall of 1803 and went as far as Cahokia, where it spent the winter. Early in the following May, accompanied by a small band of soldiers and a few Indians, the expedition broke camp and began its long journey. By November they had reached the Mandans and spent the winter near the present site of Bismarck, N. D. In the spring of 1805 they followed the Missouri to its source, crossed the mountains, found a stream which they named the Lewis, but which is now known as the Salmon River, and attempted to follow it to the sea. In this they were not successful, and returned to the Bitterroot River, whence they went over the pass leading to Clear Water River. This they followed to the Snake, and the Snake to the Columbia, whence they reached the Pacific coast, where the winter was spent. Early in the spring of 1806 the expedition set out on its return. When they reached the junction of the Bitterroot and Flathead rivers, the party divided. Lewis with his party followed the Flathead to the source of the Missouri, while Clark with some companions went down the Yellowstone. The following Sep-

tember both parties met in St. Louis, and early in 1807 they were in Washington.

This expedition covered over four thousand miles. Captain Lewis was of a scientific turn of mind, and the observations of natural features recorded in his journal were most valuable. This was soon published at government expense, and for more than a century has formed one of the most important contributions yet made to

LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

The dotted line shows route of the outward trip and of the return trip of Lewis and party; the dash line shows route of return trip of Clark and party.

American geography. The expedition set at rest all vague imaginings concerning the great country that we had purchased, and while it was impossible for the explorers to know all of the riches which it contained, yet they were able to make such observations as to leave no doubt of its future value and importance.

2. Pike's Expeditions.—While Lewis and Clark were exploring the Northwest, Jefferson ordered Zebulon Pike

to ascend the Mississippi and, if possible, discover its source. This he was able to accomplish successfully after spending the winter with the Indians and the agents of the Northwest Fur Company. Pike returned to St. Louis before the Lewis and Clark explorers.

He was then given a commission to escort a delegation of Indian chiefs into their country on the Osage River, and to visit the tribes dwelling along the Arkansas and Red rivers. After reaching the Osage country he attempted to discover the source of the Arkansas River. In doing this he pushed westward as far as Denver, and measured the altitude of the peak which forms his lasting monument. After discovering the sources of the Arkansas, Pike attempted to find the sources of the Red River; he pushed southward in midwinter, and after suffering great hard-

DISTANT VIEW OF PIKE'S PEAK
Looking through the gateway of the Garden of the Gods.

ships reached the Rio Grande, where he erected a blockhouse. He was soon captured by the Spaniards, but when the authorities learned that his occupation of Spanish territory was wholly unintentional, he was released and returned home the following summer. By means of these three expeditions the government obtained a much fuller knowledge of the country west of the Mississippi than had ever before been given to the world.

ZEBULON PIKE
[From a painting by Charles Wilson Peale, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

389. Political Effects.—1. The Question of Constitutionality. — When the treaty between Marbois and Monroe reached Jefferson he was in great doubt as to what course he should pursue. His ministers without doubt had exceeded their literal instructions; still, the advantage to the country seemed to warrant the act, and Jefferson

was pleased at the outcome. But the greater question—Was the purchase constitutional?—was not so readily answered. After careful consideration Jefferson concluded that it was not, and advised an amendment to the Constitution to legalize the transaction. He arrived at this conclusion as a strict constructionist, but there were others who believed the purchase to be strictly within the limits of constitutional authority; the act was so generally sanctioned that when Congress convened no amendment was considered necessary. Thus did Jefferson, who was perhaps the greatest stickler for the strict construction of the Constitution, establish a precedent for extending its sanction to the purchase of foreign territory. His act, sustained by the Supreme Court, settled three great constitutional questions: (1) That the president and Senate had authority to purchase territory of a foreign power, (2) that such territory when purchased could be incorporated into the United States, and (3) that such territory when incorporated into the United States was entitled to the same form of government as other territory and could be divided into separate territories, which in turn could be admitted into the Union as states.

2. Opposition of the Federalists.—In his belief that the purchase of Louisiana was unconstitutional, Jefferson had plenty of supporters among the Federalists, who by this time had completely changed their attitude as to the lines along which the Constitution

should be interpreted. Some of these were sincere, and some were, as we would say, playing politics. Others, mostly from New England, opposed the acquisition of the territory on sectional grounds, believing that it would give advantage to the South and West and be injurious to the New England and Middle states. Some objected on what they considered the grounds of economy, and argued against the expenditure of so much money for what seemed to be an illusion. The arguments advanced by some of these objectors, in the light of later developments, seem ridiculous. Josiah Quincy, the leading Federalist in Congress from Massachusetts, one of the foremost orators of his day and afterwards president of Harvard College, in a speech on a resolution to admit Louisiana as a state, said:

"I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion that if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the states which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some to prepare definitely for a separation—amicably if they can, violently if they must. . . . I oppose this bill from no animosity to the people of New Orleans, but from the deep conviction that it contains a principle incompatible with the liberties and safety of my country. I have no concealment of my opinion. The bill, if it passes, is a death-blow to the Constitution. It may afterward linger, but, lingering, its fate will at no very distant period be consummated."

Others feared that immigration into the new territory would depopulate the East. Still others—and these seemingly with better reason—claimed that the people inhabiting such widely different sections, and whose

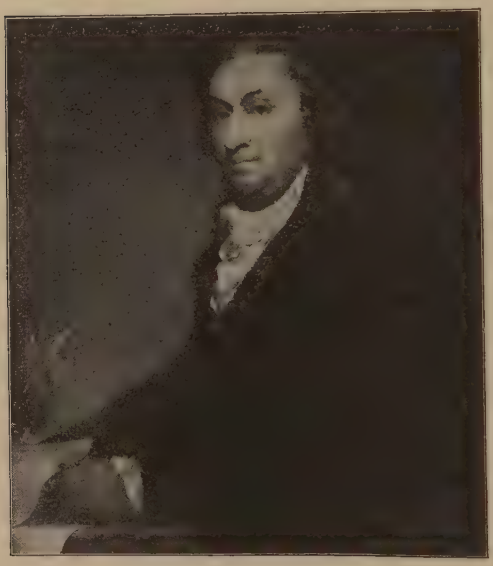
interests were so diverse, could not be held together under one government, and that the settlement of Louisiana would lead to the formation of an independent nation beyond the Mississippi. In judging such arguments, we must remember that at the time they were advanced the stage coach and the sailing vessel afforded

YOSEMITE VALLEY, CALIFORNIA
Discovered in 1851 by settlers in a neighboring gold-mining camp.

the swiftest means of travel in the world. Could the invention of the steamboat and the locomotive have been foreseen, these objections might never have been raised.

But the most unreasonable arguments came from those who attempted to embarrass the administration, a program which the Republicans had successfully followed

in previous years. It is interesting to notice that the objections offered to the purchase of Louisiana have been made to every acquisition of territory since, and of equal interest is the fact that the events following each acquisition have proved the objections to be utterly groundless. Hamilton, to his honor be it said, was not found among the objectors. He at once saw the advantage of the purchase, declared the act constitutional and sustained Jefferson with all his force and eloquence.



ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON
[From a painting by Pratt, after one by Stuart, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

390. Prophecies Fulfilled.—When the boundaries of Louisiana were established, the included area was found to exceed eight hundred sixty-five thousand square miles. This was sufficient answer to the objection of extravagance in its purchase. The original cost was less than two cents per acre. Within the territory purchased

of France there have been organized, in whole or in part, twelve states and two territories. In 1803 the population was less than fifty thousand. In 1900 it was nearly fifteen million, or more than four times the population of the entire country at Washington's inauguration. It now produces more than half the wheat and one-half the corn of the entire country. In 1900 the value of its agricultural products alone was $755,000,000, or fifty and one-third times the price paid for it, and the value of the mineral resources found within its boundaries cannot be estimated.

The twelfth census showed that within the states formed from this territory were seven cities with over one hundred thousand inhabitants, and three others with over fifty thousand. The vast plains are threaded by railways and occupied by a prosperous and happy husbandry. The acquisition of Louisiana gave us a national domain that at once assured the United States the foremost place among American nations, and made her prominent among the great nations of the world.

When they had signed the treaty of 1803, Marbois, Monroe and Livingston shook hands, and Livingston remarked: "Sir, we have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. This will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts." Napoleon, who was present, said: "A few lines of a treaty restored to me the Province of Louisiana and repaired the fault of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1763. But

scarcely have I recovered it, when I must lose it again. But this I promise you: It shall cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it than to those to whom I deliver it, for I have given England by this act a rival on the high seas that will one day humble her pride."

During the century both prophecies have been more than fulfilled. The purchase of Louisiana was the most far-reaching and important diplomatic act in all our history.

QUESTIONS

Why was the Mississippi a more important outlet for the commerce of Ohio and Kentucky in 1803 than it is now?

On what grounds did Jefferson object to the transfer of Louisiana to France?

Why did Spain object to the sale of Louisiana to the United States?

On what grounds did the Federalists oppose the purchase of Louisiana? Were their objections well founded?

What was the influence of the purchase of Louisiana on the development of slavery in the United States?

REFERENCES

An excellent account of Louisiana is found in *Louisiana Purchase*, by Winship and Wallace; also in Morse's *Thomas Jefferson*, ch. xiv. The following articles are also valuable: *Conclusion of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty*, in the *Century Magazine*, June, 1904, p. 225; *History of the Louisiana Purchase*, in the *Review of Reviews*, May, 1903, p. 515; *How We Bought the Great West*, in *Scribner's Magazine*, November, 1903, p. 561. The diplomatic history of the transaction is told in Foster's *Century of American Diplomacy*, pp. 185–204.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
French territory in America ceded to England and Spain	1763
Spanish treaty signed, granting the United States free navigation of the Mississippi	1795

Event	Date
Napoleon, First Consul of France	1799
Louisiana retroceded to France by the Treaty of Ildefonso	1800
Attempted subjugation of San Domingo by France	1801
Louisiana Purchase treaty signed	Apr. 30, 1803
Louisiana formally occupied by the United States	Dec., 1803
Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific coast	1803–1807
Pike's expedition into the West	1805–1806

CHAPTER VIII

AN ATTEMPT TO DIVIDE THE UNION

1800-1807

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—Notice carefully the geographical and political conditions which made it possible for Burr to organize a conspiracy. Could such a plan succeed now? Why? The failure of Burr's schemes should be considered in connection with the growth of loyalty to the national government displayed by a majority of the people.

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391. Rise of Aaron Burr.—Aaron Burr was the son of Rev. Aaron Burr, at one time president of Princeton College, and was the grandson of the celebrated divine, Jonathan Edwards. Left an orphan at three years of age, he was cared for and educated by his relatives. He graduated from college at sixteen and began the study of law. In 1775 he entered the American army and marched with Arnold to Quebec. After his return from this ill-fated expedition, he joined himself to Washington's staff, but was soon cast off by the general on account of his debauchery. Burr, however, continued in the service and had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel, when, in 1779, he resigned on account of ill health. After the war he began the practice of law and rose rapidly in his profession, becoming one of the most eminent lawyers in New York. From 1791 to 1797 he was in the United States Senate, and in 1800 became candidate for president. This candidacy drew to him

the attention of the entire nation, and when the election went to the House (Section 350), it was within the power of the Federalists to elect Burr over Jefferson, and some favored the plan. However, Hamilton, the recognized leader of the party, well knew that Burr was not a suitable man to be at the head of the government, and used his influence to defeat him. When Jefferson secured the election, Burr became the bitter enemy of both him and Hamilton.

Jefferson was no admirer of Burr—was not even his political friend—and as president used his influence to undermine his rival. Burr, who was wholly unscrupulous in politics and a libertine in morals, soon alienated the best members of his own party, and his political fortunes sank lower and lower each year. Before the expiration of his term of office, he saw that he stood no chance of reëlection and determined to gain through a state office the influence he had lost while vice-president; therefore he became a candidate for governor of New York.

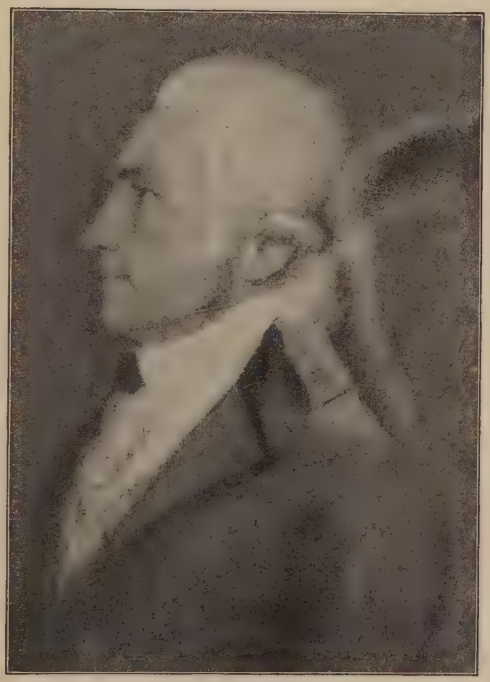
Though a Republican, Burr had been cast aside by the better element in the party, and at the time of his nomination for governor had but few followers among the Federalists. There was, however, a division in the Federalist party, which he hoped to turn to his advantage. Some of the more radical Federalists from New England had been urging the secession of these states, hoping that they could secure New York and possibly

New Jersey and a portion of Pennsylvania to join the movement. Burr believed that as governor of New York he could lead this movement, frame a new government and become its head. There were Federalists unpatriotic enough to support him with the expectation that his end would be attained. Happily, after a bitter campaign, he was defeated.

392. Duel with Hamilton.—The feeling which Burr entertained against Hamilton was still further embittered by his defeat in the New York election, for he well knew that Hamilton was largely instrumental in accomplishing it. He therefore resolved to put Hamilton out of his way. At that time dueling was altogether too common, and the code was recognized throughout the country. Burr selected some statements from public letters that were attributed to Hamilton, and sent them to him with a letter demanding that Hamilton disavow the statements or take the consequences. In the correspondence which followed, Hamilton took every means possible, except a direct refusal, to prevent the duel, but Burr was inexorable. He had determined to kill Hamilton, and this was the only method by which he could do it and escape the charge of murder. The challenge was sent and accepted, and the parties met at Weehawken, on the morning of July 11, 1804. At the signal, Hamilton fired into the air. Burr took deliberate aim, and Hamilton fell mortally wounded and expired the following day. Thus in the prime of life Alexander

Hamilton died, slain by the vice-president of the United States.

Hamilton's tragic death was a shock to the entire country, and did more than any other event in our history to abolish the practice of dueling. His loss was universally mourned, and it was the popular verdict that he had been foully murdered. Burr fled from the field and secreted himself in New York for ten days, when, fearing discovery and arrest, he went to Philadelphia. Soon after his departure he was indicted for murder by the New York grand jury, but was never brought to trial.



AARON BURR
[From a painting by James Sharpless, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

393. Alexander Hamilton.—Coming to the United States from the West Indies when a mere lad, Hamilton

early identified himself with the military interests of the country, and before twenty years of age had attracted attention as a debater and writer. On the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, he raised a company of cavalry, and until 1781 served on Washington's staff, ending a brilliant military career at the siege of Yorktown. In 1782–3, he was a member of the Continental Congress, and in 1787 a leader in the Constitutional Convention. The year following he did what many considered his greatest work in writing his articles in support of the Constitution. Of the eighty-five papers in the *Federalist*, fifty-one are wholly his, and he assisted in the preparation of a number of others. In the New York convention called to ratify the Constitution, Hamilton contended almost single-handed against a two-thirds majority, and finally converted it into a minority. When secretary of the treasury, he submitted a financial plan that not only restored the credit of the United States, but was so sound in its principles and far-reaching in its policy that it has been followed to the present day.

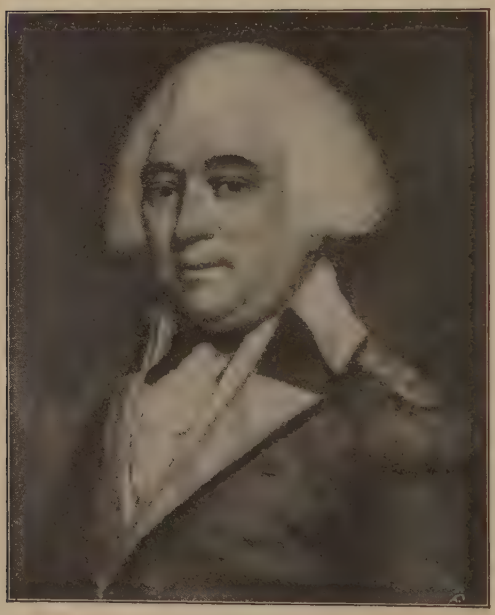
"Hamilton after his death was made the target for attack and reprobation by his political foes, who for nearly sixty years, with few intermissions, controlled the government. His work, however, could not be undone, and as passions have subsided, his fame has proved to be of that highest and rarest kind, which broadens and rises with the lapse of years until, in the light of history, it overtops that of any of our statesmen except his own great chief and Abraham Lincoln." [1]

[1] Lodge, *George Washington*, vol. ii.

394. Burr's Conspiracy.—1. Decision to Form an Empire.—The killing of Hamilton brought upon Burr such a weight of obloquy and disgrace as to blast forever his political hopes and ambitions in the United States. Smarting under defeat and censure, thirsting for vengeance and still fostering his ambition to rule, he determined to secure at the expense of his country's welfare what she would not grant him through her suffrage. It is possible that those senators who argued against the purchase of Louisiana on the ground that it would lead to the formation of a government west of the Mississippi, found a willing listener in the vice-president. At all events, he resolved to erect an empire which should include Mexico, the District of Louisiana, the Territory of Orleans, the states west of the Alleghenies and as much more of the United States as he could bring under his sway. He had some reasons for believing that his project would succeed, though most of them were not well founded.

2. Dissatisfaction in Orleans.—As we have seen (Section 386), Spain opposed the sale of Louisiana, and the inhabitants of the district held a grievance against Napoleon for his summary disposal of their territory. Neither the French nor the Spanish officials hastened their departure on relinquishing their authority. The substitution of the laws and courts of the United States for those to which the inhabitants had always been accustomed introduced many innovations, and

some of these were, for the time being, wholly unsatisfactory to the people. The Spaniards deliberately fomented the ill feeling caused by these inconveniences, and in a short time they secured quite a following of adventurous spirits, who were eager to wrest the territory from the control of the United States. Besides these, there were a few others scattered among the settlements along the Mississippi. Early in 1805, a petition from the Territory of Orleans, asking for admission into the Union, and another from the District of Louisiana, asking for a territorial form of government, were sent to Congress, which, after considerable deliberation, failed to grant the petitioners' request. This refusal still further increased the ill feeling towards the government.



JAMES WILKINSON
[From a painting by James Sharpless, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

3. Burr Visits the West.—Burr believed that this feeling against the government could be made one of the means of furthering his designs, but felt that, in order to succeed, he must identify himself closely with western men. Previous to this, he had attempted to interest Merry, the British minister to the United States, in his scheme. When he reached Philadelphia on his flight from New York, he found the British minister spending the summer there, and through an agent made known his plans and solicited the aid of the British government. Merry went so far as to send a special messenger to England to explain Burr's plans, but the government did not take any interest in the matter, except to recall Merry the following year.

Having, as he supposed, set his plans in operation, Burr started on a journey down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. He was a man of strong magnetic power and fascinating personality. On his journey he secured many followers, among whom was Blennerhasset, a cultured and wealthy Irishman living on an island in the Ohio River, near Marietta. Burr induced Blennerhasset to spend his fortune in building boats and purchasing arms and supplies for the expedition.

General James Wilkinson was at the head of the army, with headquarters at New Orleans. Burr met him, however, on his way down the Mississippi, and tried to enlist him and his officers. That Wilkinson at first favored the scheme and afterwards abandoned it at the

most critical moment is the general belief of those who have most carefully investigated his record. Others deny that he ever entertained the thought of betraying the government. However this may be, it is quite evident that Burr believed Wilkinson was friendly. When Burr reached New Orleans, where his step-son was judge of the district court, he found general dissatisfaction with the government, and easily directed the attention of the people to him as the one who would lead them out of their difficulties. He then turned northward, feeling that success was assured. Returning to Washington, he spent the winter in raising money and recruits.

4. The Expedition Organized.—In the spring of 1806, Burr started for Pittsburg to put his plans in operation. During the summer he secured great activity along the Ohio and Mississippi. Boats were built, arms and military stores were collected and men were enlisted. These movements aroused suspicion and President Jefferson was informed of Burr's intentions, yet for some months he gave little heed to the accounts. When, however, he was fully convinced of Burr's purpose, Jefferson authorized the governor of Ohio to seize the boats and capture all on board. He also issued a proclamation warning all of the nature of the expedition, and prohibiting enlistment in the enterprise. General Wilkinson went to New Orleans and prepared the city for a vigorous defense He also arrested several of Burr's followers.

5. Burr's Arrest and Trial.—When Burr saw that his plans were discovered, he fled southward in disguise, but was soon captured and taken to Richmond, where he was tried before Chief Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court. He was indicted on two charges — treason and high misdemeanor. After a long trial, he was acquitted on the first charge—because the evidence did not meet the requirements of the Constitution for conviction.[1] On the second charge both he and Blennerhasset were bound over for trial in the district court for the District of Ohio, but when

GRAVE OF AARON BURR, PRINCETON

[1] Constitution, Art. III, Sec. 3.

the next term of that court was called, both conspirators had placed the Atlantic between them and the United States.

Though acquitted on a technicality of the law, there was no question of Burr's guilt. He was universally branded as a murderer and a traitor. Fleeing to England for refuge, he was ordered out of the country, and while in France was under constant surveillance of the police. He finally returned to New York, where he spent his last years in obscurity and extreme poverty.

The first organized conspiracy against the United States proved the loyalty of her citizens, and showed conclusively that the government was strong in the confidence of the people.

QUESTIONS

Why did Burr wish to become governor of New York?

Does his career indicate that he was in sympathy with the principles advocated by the Republican party?

Had he succeeded in forming his empire, what would have been its approximate area?

Why did Blennerhasset join the enterprise?

What was the most potent reason for the failure of the conspiracy?

REFERENCES

The best full account of the Burr-Hamilton episode and of Burr's conspiracy is that in McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, vol. iii, pp. 47–88. The life of Alexander Hamilton, by Lodge, in the American Statesmen series, also gives an interesting account of these incidents, pp. 245–250. See also Parton's *Aaron Burr*, American Statesmen series, ch. lxv. Edward Everett Hale's *The Man Without a Country* is based upon an incident in Burr's conspiracy, and throws considerable light on the condition of the Southwest at that time.

Blennerhasset, a novel by C. D. Pidgin, treats Burr from an opposite viewpoint from that usually given by historians.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Aaron Burr defeated for presidency and chosen vice-president	1800
Burr defeated in candidacy for governor of New York	1804
The Burr-Hamilton duel	July 11, 1804
Death of Hamilton	July 12, 1804
Burr's conspiracy organized	1805
Expedition to conquer and rule the West prepared	1806
President's proclamation against Burr	Nov. 27, 1806
Burr captured	Feb., 1807
Burr tried for treason and acquitted	Aug., 1807

CHAPTER IX

RESTRICTIONS ON OUR FOREIGN TRADE

1803-1809

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—The points of international law involved in our controversy with Great Britain and France are important and should be understood. It is also important during the entire study of this question to keep in mind that France and Great Britain were in a life and death struggle for the mastery of Europe and that these two countries represented two peculiar and entirely different political systems. Their encroachments upon the United States were not primarily because of enmity to us, but because by playing this country off against each other each hoped to gain some point of vantage over her rival.

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395. The Rights of Neutrals.—The large majority with which Jefferson was reëlected and the tranquillity that characterized his first term were fair indications that the second term would be equally peaceful. Such, however, was not to be the state of affairs. No sooner had he entered upon his duties a second time than he was confronted by a conspiracy to divide the Union. While this did not seriously threaten the country with a great danger, it caused much uneasiness in certain quarters and engendered a bitter political strife. In addition to this, and of far greater consequence, was the attack of Great Britain upon our carrying trade. Jay's treaty, which had a life of ten years, expired in 1805, but before this date its provisions in regard to neutral trade had been violated by Great Britain. The commercial and

maritime war between France and England had turned much of European trade to American ships.

"In two years, almost the whole carrying trade of Europe was in their hands. The merchant flag of every belligerent, except England, disappeared from the sea. France and Holland absolutely ceased to trade under their flags. Spain for a while continued to transport her specie and her bullion in her own ships, protected by men-of-war, but this too she soon gave up, and by 1806 the dollars of Mexico and the ingots of Peru were brought to her shores in American bottoms. It was under our flag that the gum trade was conducted in Senegal, that the sugar trade was carried on with Cuba, that coffee was exported from Caracas, and hides and indigo from South America. From Vera Cruz, from Carthagena, from La Plata, from the French colonies in the Antilles, from Dutch Guiana, from the islands of France and Reunion, from Batavia and Manila, great fleets of American merchantmen sailed to the United States, there to neutralize the voyage and then go on to Europe." [1]

This trade was very profitable to the merchants and ship owners of the United States, and was the means of increasing our traffic with Great Britain. The results of Jay's treaty to America were just the opposite of what Great Britain had expected, and of what she desired. By 1805 the aggregate value of this foreign trade in the hands of Americans probably exceeded that controlled by the British merchants, and England could not fail to see that the colonies so recently in rebellion against her, and whose independence she had been reluctantly compelled to grant, were fast becoming a great commercial rival. British statesmen and British ship owners looked upon our prosperity with displeasure, and to them the fact that our commerce with Great

[1] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, vol. iii.

Britain was constantly increasing seemed of little consequence. The British government decided to check the prosperity of American ship owners and the desired means for so doing was soon found.

England now revived the claim made in 1794 (Section 343, 2), that all provisions were contraband of war and that American ships carrying foodstuffs to French ports were liable to capture. She further denied the principle that "free ships make free goods," which had been vigorously asserted by the United States in the early controversy and after. Great Britain also claimed that a European power which prohibited trade with its colonies in time of peace could not allow neutrals to engage in such trade in time of war. She therefore claimed the right to interfere with American commerce with the French West Indies, since France forbade this commerce in time of peace, as did all other European countries.[1] American ships could not trade directly between the French and British West Indies and either of these countries. Since Great Britain was supreme upon the ocean and had compelled the war ships of France to remain in port, French men-of-war were unable to prevent American ships trading with the French West Indies. Had France been supreme upon the ocean, she doubtless would have prevented our trade with the British West Indies.

Therefore Great Britain declared all direct trade with

[1] This was in accordance with the accepted commercial theory of the time (Section 237, 1), that colonies existed solely for the benefit of the mother country.

France illegal and ordered neutral ships engaged in it to be seized and condemned as prizes. For a time, American ships trading between the West Indies and French ports escaped the effects of this order by first sailing to some United States port, unloading their cargoes, paying duties, then reloading and clearing for the desired port. But in 1805 the British court of admiralty, which had previously sustained the view that ships sailing to an American port and paying duties on their cargo, then reloading for a French port, were not engaged in direct trade between France and her colonies, reversed this opinion. The case of the *Essex*, an American merchantman which had been captured under these conditions, was brought before the court, and it was then decided that the vessel was engaged in direct trade, and should be condemned as a prize. This decision laid almost every American merchant vessel open to seizure. France had also issued an order for seizing American vessels engaged in trade not permitted in the time of peace, and between the two countries the American ships were in danger of being swept from the seas.

AMERICAN SEAMAN
About 1800.

396. Non-Importation Act.—Jefferson now had ample opportunity to apply his theory of bringing foreign nations to terms by closing American ports to their

commerce. His aversion to war was well known to all foreign ministers at Washington, and through them, to their governments. The state of our army and navy was also well known, and since at that time international affairs were largely managed on the principle that "might makes right," it is not surprising that the United States were subjected to many humiliating experiences. But Jefferson was a firm believer in his policy, and while by going to war with either France or England he would have allied the other with the United States, he believed that his ends could be better attained through negotiation.

The first attempt to compel Great Britain to cease her depredations upon American ships was the Non-Importation Act of 1806. This act excluded from the ports of the United States a long list of British manufactures, but did not include them all, since the agreement of the Southern states to so inclusive a measure could not be secured. The act was passed April 18, and went into effect a week later. The folly of the measure was soon apparent.

397. Impressment of Seamen.—Our prosperous carrying trade had attracted many British seamen to American ships, and England was short of men for her navy. It had always been maintained by England that her citizens could not expatriate themselves without her consent. Her motto was, "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman." Therefore, when the war broke out with France, she issued an order requiring British men-of-

war to board and search the vessels of neutrals and seize any British subjects found on board. In compliance with this order, many American ships had been searched before the passage of the Non-Importation Act, and among the men impressed were a considerable number of citizens of the United States. The insolence of the British cruisers had become well-nigh intolerable. They had frequently searched and seized vessels on waters under the jurisdiction of the United States, and had even fired upon unarmed ships.

On the day on which the Non-Importation Act went into effect, the British ship of war *Leander* fired upon the American sloop *Richard* as she was in the New York harbor, killing the helmsman and injuring the vessel. The *Richard* escaped, but the killing of the helmsman aroused public feeling in New York to a state bordering on frenzy. No satisfactory reparation was ever made by the British government. Another similar affair, but still more exasperating, occurred in the following year. Chesapeake Bay was a favorite rendezvous for vessels of the British fleet, and at almost any time several men-of-war were to be found about the capes or just within the bay. Regardless of all law, they searched American ships, impressed seamen and practically placed the ports on the bay in a state of blockade. In February, 1807, while the British ship *Melampus* was at anchor in Hampton Roads, the officers gave a banquet on board, and during the festivities five of the crew deserted.

Three of these enlisted for service on the United States frigate *Chesapeake*. The British consul at Norfolk demanded that these men be surrendered, claiming that they were British subjects. The demand was referred to the secretary of the navy, and by him to Commodore Barron of the *Chesapeake*, who, after investigation, declared that not one of the three was a British subject. Several deserters from another British ship, the *Halifax*, were also enlisted and assigned to duty on the *Chesapeake*. Recruiting officers had been ordered not to enlist deserters from British ships, but upon the demand for surrender of these men, the recruiting officer sent them to Washington, where the demand was unheeded. The British officers claimed that this procedure was a violation of law and of treaty rights as well. They were probably right, but the British had impressed so many American seamen that the United States felt justified in retaliating.

Admiral Berkeley, commander of the British squadron in American waters, ordered his vessels to watch for the *Chesapeake* and, when she was met without the limits of the United States, to stop and search her for deserters. It was afterwards shown that Berkeley had no authority for issuing such an order. Within a few hours after the British ship *Leopard* reached Chesapeake Bay, the *Chesapeake* dropped anchor in Hampton Roads on her way to Europe. She had just taken her heavy guns on board and they were unmounted, and in other ways the

ship was unprepared for action. No sooner had the *Chesapeake* started upon her voyage the following morning than she was pursued by the *Leopard,* which, when she had reached the *Chesapeake,* spoke her. Commodore Barron, supposing the message to be of a friendly nature, hove to and received an officer on board, bearing a written message which contained a copy of Admiral Berkeley's order to search the ship. Barron did not know that he had any British deserters on board, and so stated, adding further that no one but his own officers could muster the crew.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

When Commodore Barron's reply was received on board the *Leopard,* her commander prepared for action and discharged a broadside at the *Chesapeake.* The latter was in no condition to reply, and when twenty-

one round shot had struck the hold and the foremast and mizzenmast had been splintered, Commodore Barron surrendered. Three men were killed and eighteen wounded. Officers from the *Leopard* boarded the *Chesapeake* and claimed among the crew twelve men as British subjects. As these were not deserters, they were not molested, but the men that had left the *Melampus* were seized and taken to Halifax, where one of them was condemned and hanged as a deserter. The commander of the *Leopard* refused to receive the *Chesapeake* as a prize, and in her crippled condition she returned to port.

The attack upon the *Chesapeake* caused the hostile feeling against England to become well-nigh universal, and the war spirit was rife throughout the country. The president issued a proclamation commanding all British ships of war within the waters of the United States to take their instant departure, and closing our ports to all such vessels in the future, except those that conveyed government dispatches or officials. Gunboats were ordered to places liable to attack, and the fleet in the Mediterranean was recalled. It was also decided to send a special envoy to London to make three demands on the British government—a disavowal of the act and of the right of search, the return of the men taken from the *Chesapeake* and the recall of Admiral Berkeley.

398. Orders in Council and Berlin and Milan Decrees.—Within a month from the day on which the Non-Intercourse Act went into effect, the king and council

in London issued a decree declaring all the ports of Europe, from the Elbe to Brest, in a state of blockade. This order subjected all vessels sailing to or from these ports to the liability of seizure and confiscation, and inflicted great damage upon American shipping, since it was more sweeping than any previous order restricting the trade of neutral nations.

Napoleon had no intention of submitting to the British Orders in Council, but waited until he was in position to retaliate with effect before making any move against it. Such an opportunity came after the Battle of Jena, in which he completely routed the Prussians. After he had entered Berlin in triumph, he issued what has since been known as his Berlin Decree. In this he stated that Great Britain had violated international law by her Orders in Council, and declared the British Isles in a state of blockade until these orders were repealed. All trade with the British Isles was forbidden; French cruisers were ordered to seize Englishmen and property belonging to them, wherever found. All merchandise, wares or other goods that were the products of Great Britain or her colonies were declared lawful prizes, and any ship that had as much as touched at an English port was not to be allowed to enter the ports of France or her colonies. Since much of the trade to which this order applied was carried on in American bottoms, the Berlin Decree had a more direct bearing upon the United States than upon any other nation.

The king of Spain immediately announced a like decree, probably for the sole purpose of giving Spanish cruisers an opportunity to prey upon American merchantmen.

Both of these decrees were declared invalid by the United States, on the ground that a blockade, to be obligatory upon neutrals, must be effective; that is, unless the blockading nation stationed vessels in the closed ports, she could not seize American vessels bound for those ports, wherever they were found. As a matter of fact, English warships were stationed along the American coast for the purpose of seizing American vessels bound for European ports within the paper blockade. The Berlin Decree only incited England to further retaliation, and early in 1807 another order was issued, to the effect that all trade between European countries and the colonies of France and her allies, even though carried in neutral bottoms, must go through English ports. Percival, Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared that the United States, by her trade with the French colonies and by tamely submitting to the Berlin Decree, had ceased to be a neutral nation and should be treated as an ally of France. Following this, Napoleon issued another decree from Milan, in which he declared that all vessels which had submitted to search by the English were subject to seizure and confiscation. Under these conditions any American ship escaping one of the belligerents was liable to fall into the hands of the other.

399. Treaty Negotiations. — Soon after his second inauguration Jefferson began negotiations for a new treaty with Great Britain. Monroe was sent as minister to England, with instructions to secure, as far as possible, the repeal of the restrictions upon the commerce of neutrals. As usual, the British ministry promised to consider Monroe's complaints, but they did nothing. Matters dragged along until 1806, when, at the time of the passage of the Non-Importation Act, William Pinckney was sent to join Monroe, and the two were to press negotiations for a treaty. They were to explain the scope and purpose of the Non-Importation Act and to insist that the impressment of seamen should be given up as a condition for its repeal. They were also instructed to say that the United States would give up the principle that "free ships make free goods," provided they could secure the right of neutral colonial trade. Furthermore, the American ministers were to insist that a ship carrying contraband goods to a foreign port should not be subject to seizure on her return voyage, provided at that time she carried no contraband.

While negotiations were in progress the Orders in Council were issued and the *Leopard* and *Chesapeake* affair occurred. The British government agreed to send an envoy to the United States to adjust the *Chesapeake* affair, and they also recalled Admiral Berkeley, but at the same time the king issued a proclamation recalling all British seamen in the service of

other nations, and accompanied this by a sweeping order that the ships of all other nations be searched for such men, and that wherever found they be seized and impressed into service. The only treaty that Monroe and Pinckney could negotiate was so unsatisfactory that Jefferson never submitted it to the Senate. Immediately after these negotiations were completed, Monroe, disgusted with the treatment he had received, and thoroughly tired of life at the British court, turned his papers over to Pinckney, and full of wrath and war, sailed for the United States.

400. The Embargo.—The same vessel that brought Monroe home also conveyed news of the new Order in Council, the king's renewed order for impressment, and of Napoleon's Milan Decree. In a few days other papers followed, explaining more fully the scope of the attack on American commerce. When Jefferson fully realized the situation, he called his cabinet together and hastily penciled a message to Congress for their approval. This was the outline of an embargo on all American shipping not engaged in the coastwise trade, and, under certain limitations, on foreign shipping. The cabinet endorsed the measure and adjourned. Under this order American ships could not leave for foreign ports and foreign vessels could leave American ports only without cargo or with such cargo as was already loaded. The Senate, to its disgrace, placed the measure in the form of a bill which, under the suspension of rules, was

duly passed in less than four hours. The House acted with more deliberation, but passed the bill within four days. On December 22, 1807, the bill was signed by the president and the embargo was in force.

As soon as the news of the embargo reached Philadelphia, New York and Boston, ship owners made all possible haste to dispatch their vessels before they could be stopped by the customs officers. Many went with only partial lading, some without any cargo at all, and others, on entering port, departed without stopping to unload their cargo. It was evident that the embargo was not what the ship owners and merchants wanted. Their business was immensely profitable, and most of them preferred to take the risk of an occasional capture to foregoing their profits entirely. Again, the order did not apply to the coastwise trade nor to fishing vessels. In consequence, many ships chartered for foreign trade changed to a coasting trade and, under guise of being driven from their course by adverse winds, traded with the West Indies and other foreign countries. Every possible device for evading the law was resorted to. To prevent this abuse, the original act was supplemented by another, requiring coasting vessels to give heavy bonds for disposing of their cargoes in ports of the United States and also placing all fishing craft under the law.

AMERICAN SEAMAN
In War of 1812.

These supplemental measures worked great hardship upon merchants and ship owners and caused much dissatisfaction, but they failed to accomplish their purpose. Trade through Canada and through the Floridas was still untouched, and an enormous smuggling traffic sprang up in both sections. Ship owners also falsified their bills of lading and in other ways evaded the law and the vigilance of the customs officers.

401. The Embargo Repealed.—The embargo was a colossal blunder, but, more than any other measure during his administration, it demonstrates the power Jefferson had over his followers. It is safe to say that no other Congress has ever passed with so little consideration a measure so vital to the welfare of the nation. Like many other acts of legislation, its workings were directly opposite to what the advocates of the measure expected. In his message recommending the embargo, Jefferson claimed that it was for the purpose of keeping American ships and seamen from falling into the hands of France and England. However, the real purpose was to starve France and England into subjection. Jefferson soon discovered that he could not do this without starving the United States also. Within a few weeks, all industries connected with shipping began to decline. Rope-makers, sail-makers, shipwrights, sailors and draymen were idle. The depression in these industries gradually extended to others, so that within a year from the time the embargo went into effect, there was

general stagnation of business throughout the country. Means of export being cut off, our markets were glutted with home products. Accustomed to import certain articles, the country was without any provision for their manufacture, and inability to procure them caused serious inconvenience to the people. Prices at once fell. Wheat, that formerly sold at two dollars a bushel, could scarcely find a market at seventy-five cents, and many other farm commodities fell in price proportionately. Farmers could not meet their obligations and merchants could not transport their goods from one city to another without great expense and inconvenience. This was especially annoying to those engaged in supplying the markets of the larger cities with produce. The national revenue fell in a year from sixteen million dollars to less than seven millions. The South, in which a great majority favored the embargo, suffered most of all. Her industries were limited in number, and when she was unable to sell her tobacco and cotton, she had no means with which to procure the necessaries of life. Virginia became almost bankrupt.

The effect on England and France was what the result of Jefferson's previous efforts might have led him to expect. Morse facetiously says: "The English policy was simple: since the Americans would not fight, they were the easier objects of plunder; the French principle was responsive: since the Americans are to be robbed,

we must share in the booty."[1] Through the embargo, Jefferson accomplished just what England wished—the destruction of the United States as a commercial power; so she was content to maintain those conditions which would insure its continuance. When Napoleon learned of the embargo, he issued an order to seize all American vessels in French ports, saying that they could not leave port without violating the laws of the United States. The act affected neither of these nations seriously, but it crippled the American merchant marine to such an extent that it never fully recovered.

But the worst effect of the embargo was the spirit of disloyalty that it caused everywhere. Evasions of the law and even open resistance to the authorities became popular. From this it was but a step to the consideration of the question of secession, a measure which was strongly advocated in some of the New England states, where the feeling against the act became so strong that Jefferson himself saw that it could not be enforced, except at the point of the bayonet. The Federalists made the most of the opportunity which the embargo gave them, and at the presidential election in 1808 carried all of New England except Vermont, and also secured some votes from the South. The Republican majority in Congress was greatly reduced.

As a political measure, the embargo completely reversed Jefferson's theory concerning the functions of

[1] Morse, *Thomas Jefferson.*

the Federal government, since it was an extremely paternal measure, exceeding in this respect anything proposed by the Federalists when in the height of their power. From every point of view the measure had wrought evil, and evil only. In view of these facts, it was evident that the law must be repealed, but Jefferson and his closest followers wished to retain it until the end of his administration, so that he would not face the humiliating situation of having to sign a bill which meant the failure of his boasted plan of non-intercourse, or of closing his administration with the veto of a measure universally demanded. But public sentiment was too strong to admit of the delay, and a bill repealing the embargo and establishing non-intercourse with France and England passed Congress in February, 1809. This was signed by Jefferson on March 1—three days before he ceased to be president. It went into effect March 15, and on that day American vessels could once more leave port for a limited foreign trade, but they were still compelled to give bonds that they would not enter any ports of France or England or their colonies, or in any way engage in trade with these countries.

As an attempt to save American shipping the embargo was a failure, for as many ships were probably beaten out at their moorings as would have been lost through capture. The excuse that it prevented war was groundless, since, during its life, neither England nor France abated hostilities in the least, and at

its repeal the country was nearer war than at the beginning.

402. Retirement of Jefferson.—Following the example of his great predecessor, Washington, Jefferson declined to be a candidate for the third term. When he laid down his duties as president, he retired to his beautiful home, Monticello, and there spent the remainder of his life. Educated at William and Mary College and trained as a lawyer, Jefferson entered upon his public career at the age of twenty-six, when he was elected to the Virginia legislature. He was a member of the second Continental Congress and had the reputation of being one of the best political writers of the day. The year following his election to Congress, he wrote the Declaration of Independence, by which he is better known to the great mass of people than through all his other political writings combined. In 1779 he was elected governor of Virginia, and in 1782 was sent with Franklin as a minister to France to negotiate commercial treaties. Two years later, on the retirement of Franklin, he became our minister to France and remained until 1789, when he returned home and was selected by Washington as secretary of foreign affairs. From this position he rose to be vice-president, and then president.

Jefferson did not attain eminence for depth of view or originality in any of the prominent positions which he held, but as a clear thinker and a prolific writer he im-

pressed his views upon the country more completely than any other man of his time. He was preëminently "the man of the people," simple in habits, mild and peace-loving in disposition and accessible to all. His greatest work was the founding of the political party of which he was the head, and through it, impressing upon American institutions the principles of a sound and safe democracy. He spent his last years at Monticello, devoting his time to study, writing and the furtherance of public education. He is the founder and generally known as the father of the University of Virginia, to which institution he gave much of his time and means. He opposed slavery and used all his influence to secure in Virginia an act of gradual manumission, but failed. He was beloved and honored by all and died on the fiftieth anniversary of the nation's independence.

"He was sometimes insincere, often inconsistent, generally prone to shun hurt and injury to himself, but from the time he began his great reforms in the Virginia House of Burgesses the general tendency and large lines of his purpose and policy held with much steadiness in the noble direction of a perfect humanitarianism. To this day the multitude cherish and revere his memory, and in so doing pay a just debt of gratitude to a friend who not only served them, as many have done, but who honored and respected them, as few have done." [1]

QUESTIONS

Why did the European colonial policy benefit American shipping?

Why did Great Britain wish to destroy the American carrying trade?

Was the Non-Importation Act justifiable? Why did it fail?

[1] Morse, *Thomas Jefferson.*

Was the impressment of seamen practiced by any nation besides Great Britain?

Were the British Orders in Council in violation of international law? Why do you think so?

By what parties in America was the embargo opposed?

Were the embargo and the enforcement laws accompanying it in accordance with Jefferson's theory of the function of the Federal government?

How was the embargo viewed by France? By Great Britain? Why?

REFERENCES

The events of this period are treated fully in McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, vol. iii, ch. xix, and with especial reference to their diplomatic aspect in Foster's *A Century of American Diplomacy*, chs. vi and vii. The diplomatic controversy and its political effects are well summarized in Gordy's *History of Political Parties in the United States*, vol. i, chs. xxx–xxxvi. Short but serviceable accounts are given in Hart's *Formation of the Union*, pp. 191–198; McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, pp. 271–279; Walker's *The Making of the Nation*, chs. ix and x; Channing's *United States of America* (1765–1865), ch. vi. Consult also Morse's *Thomas Jefferson* (American Statesmen series), pp. 298–316.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
War between England and France resumed	1803
Expiration of Jay's treaty; Napoleon's Continental System announced	1805
Non-Importation Act passed; treaty with England negotiated and rejected	1806
English Orders in Council issued	May 16, 1806
Napoleon's Berlin Decree	Nov. 21, 1806
Leander-Richard incident	Nov., 1806
Blockade of France and French possessions announced by England	Jan., 1807
Capture of the *Chesapeake* by *Leopard*	June 27, 1807
Milan Decree; Embargo Act in force	Dec., 1807
Repeal of the Embargo Act; passage of Non-Intercourse Act	Feb., 1809

CHAPTER X

FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS CONTINUED

1809-1812

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—The points emphasized in Chapter IV should be kept in mind in the study of this chapter. In addition, notice the standards of etiquette and diplomacy prevailing in Europe, and contrast them with those of to-day. Study the effects of the interests of different sections in this country, in crystallizing opinion and provoking action.

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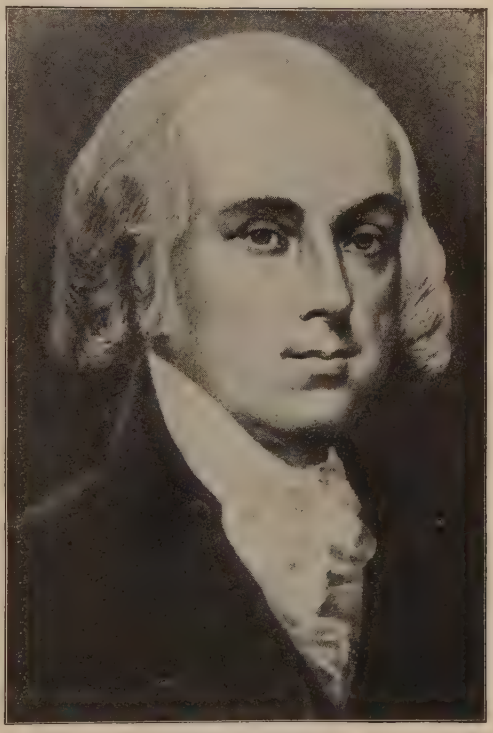
403. Inauguration of Madison.—As Jefferson's second term neared its end three presidential candidates were in the field—Madison, Monroe and De Witt Clinton, then mayor of New York. Madison was Jefferson's choice, and he received the nomination of the Republican caucus in Congress. The New York Republicans voted and nominated Clinton, but Madison received one hundred twenty-two of the one hundred seventy-five electoral votes. He felt that he must retain Gallatin in the cabinet, and wanted to make him secretary of state, but Gallatin would have nothing but the treasury, so he was left in his old position. For secretary of state, Robert Smith of Maryland was chosen. He was practically forced into the cabinet by a faction in the Senate which was jealous of Gallatin. Smith was in no wise qualified for the difficult and delicate duties devolving upon his office, and Madison was soon compelled to direct the

affairs of the department himself. William Eustis was appointed secretary of war, and Paul Hamilton of South Carolina was given charge of such a navy as we had. Gallatin was the only able man in the cabinet, and Madison himself had been none too successful as secretary of state. Under these conditions the government was ill prepared to deal with the crafty Napoleon or the trained diplomats of Great Britain.

Madison was a consistent follower of Jefferson and entertained much the same views concerning our foreign relations. He favored the embargo and gave it his support. He loved peace and feared war. He was thoroughly conversant with international law and had written one of the most profound of his many state papers upon the illegality of British and French aggressions on our trade. He thoroughly believed that we could secure our rights through negotiation and commercial restrictions, and there was no hope that under his administration there would be any immediate or radical change in our foreign policy.

404. Negotiations with Great Britain.—Soon after the presidential election, Jefferson refused to undertake any measures that would be handed down to his successor in an unfinished condition; therefore Madison and Gallatin began to consider what course the incoming administration should pursue with England and France. At that time Erskine was the British minister to the United States, and with him Madison held

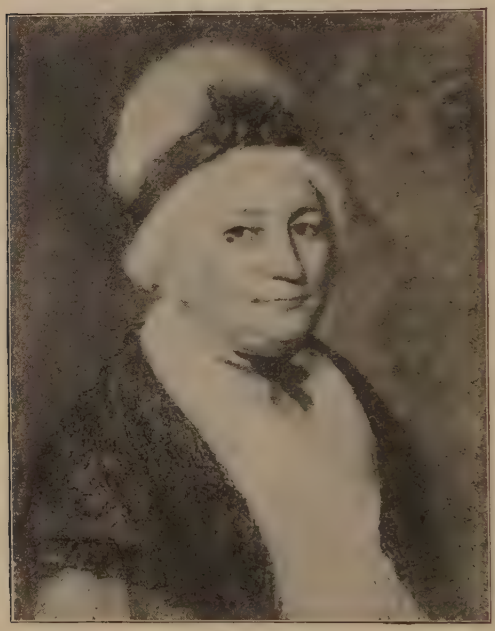
frequent interviews on the state of affairs between the two countries. Had Congress during this time left the questions of embargo and non-intercourse untouched, these negotiations would possibly have led to a peaceful solution of the difficulties. Erskine assured Canning, the British foreign secretary, that the United States was anxious to maintain friendly relations and to resume trade with Great Britain, and he urged that the Orders in Council be withdrawn.



JAMES MADISON

The debates in Congress led Canning to doubt Erskine's assurances; however, about a month after Madison's inauguration, he sent Erskine a number of propositions which led both him and the administration to believe that all differences would soon be

settled. Erskine had assured his government that when Great Britain withdrew her Orders in Council, the United States would withdraw her restrictions on trade with England, leaving them in force against France, and that the United States would be willing to give up all colonial trade in timeof war that she could not claim in time of peace. Canning gave Erskine permission to offer reparation for the *Chesapeake* affair after the United States had issued a proclamation closing our ports to French as well as to British ships of war. When this had been done, he could disavow the order of Admiral Berkeley, promise compensation to the families of the men killed on the *Chesapeake* and offer to return the men taken from her decks.



DOLLY MADISON
[From a painting by James Sharpless, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

In return for these concessions the United States was to

disavow Commodore Barron's enlistment of British deserters; also all the outrages perpetrated on Englishmen and English property in consequence of the *Chesapeake* and *Leopard* affair; and furthermore, it was to agree not to countenance desertion from the British army or navy. Great Britain further proposed to recall the Orders in Council of 1807, provided that the United States would renounce all claims to carrying trade in time of war that she could not enjoy in time of peace, and that Great Britain should have the right to seize American ships found violating the commercial restrictions against France. If these conditions were accepted, the British government was to send a special envoy to the United States to sign the articles of agreement.

After due consideration, these propositions were agreed to on the part of the administration, and the president issued a proclamation declaring that after June tenth, the date on which Erskine had promised that the Orders in Council should be repealed, the United States would be free to trade with Great Britain and all her dependencies and with all European ports not under the control of France. The issuing of this proclamation at once sent renewed life into all the American shipyards; thousands of vessels were prepared for sea and as soon as possible started under heavy lading for European ports.

Every one was elated at the turn in affairs, and the

administration suddenly became popular. But their joy was of short duration. Erskine was a young man, enthusiastic and over-zealous in a good cause. He exceeded his instructions and promised more than his government was willing to grant. What Great Britain virtually promised was to repeal the Orders in Council when the United States had complied with the required provisions. No order for this repeal had been issued, and Madison's proclamation was premature. Before the tenth of June arrived, news was received that the Orders in Council of 1807 had been recalled and in their place had been issued new orders, closing the ports of Holland, France and northern Italy. This news filled American ship owners with consternation. They already had hundreds of ships on the sea and it meant that these might be seized and condemned as prizes. Canning, however, issued an order exempting from seizure all ships leaving ports of the United States between April 19 and July 20. Erskine was at once recalled and Madison issued a second proclamation, recalling the first and again placing the Non-Intercourse Act in force. Affairs were in a worse condition than before.

To aggravate the difficulty still more, Francis A. Jackson was sent to the United States as Erskine's successor. Jackson had already gained a notorious reputation for his acts while minister at Copenhagen, being largely instrumental in securing the bombardment of that city, and his selection for the post was far from pleasing to

the government at Washington. It was afterwards learned that Canning agreed not to recall him for a year, whatever the results of his negotiations might be. Jackson was instructed to give no reason for the disavowal of Erskine's acts, and to offer no retaliation for the *Chesapeake* affair until he had received a written assurance that the Non-Intercourse Act was recalled.

From the outset Jackson insisted that the secretary of state knew that Erskine had but one set of instructions, and that he, the secretary, had connived with Erskine in their violation. To this assertion both the president and secretary of state replied that they had no such knowledge, and that had they supposed Erskine was exceeding his authority negotiations would have been discontinued. Jackson's reply to this note was a clear insinuation that the secretary lied, for which the president asked Jackson's immediate recall. Jackson went to New York, where he issued a circular to the British consuls, stating that he had removed from Washington, because the secretary of state refused to hold further communications with him. This circular brought upon his head unstinted abuse from the American press.

405. Berlin and Milan Decrees.—Previous to the foregoing negotiations, Louis Bonaparte had been driven from the throne of Holland because he refused to make war upon neutral trade. Accompanying his expulsion was the seizure by France of all the American ships at Amsterdam. This was followed by a decree of Ram-

bouillet, Napoleon's foreign minister, ordering the confiscation and sale of every American ship found in French ports. As a result of these orders, ships to the value of more than ten million dollars were seized and sold. The American minister at Paris remonstrated and demanded retaliation for the outrage, but no attention was paid to his demand. In May, Congress, exasperated by the affronts of England and France, but weary of apparently hopeless resistance and retaliation, passed a bill known as Macon Bill No. 2, providing that commercial intercourse would be resumed with the nation which first repealed its obnoxious decrees against American commerce, while it would be strictly prohibited with the nation retaining them in force. In August, 1810, Napoleon formally announced his intention to repeal the Berlin and Milan decrees, provided England repeal her Orders in Council and the "United States cause their rights to be respected by the English."

"Napoleon had in this, three ends to gain, and he gained them all: First, to secure France against a renewal of the Non-Importation Act of the United States if the president accepted this conditional recall of the decrees as satisfactory; second, to leave those decrees virtually unrepealed, by making their recall depend upon the action of England, who, he well knew, would not listen to the proposed conditions; and third, to involve the United States and England in new disputes which might lead to war."[1]

It seems that none of the American statesmen saw the game that Napoleon was playing, and notwithstanding the fact that the French government had been told that

[1] Gay, *James Madison.*

there could be no further negotiations between the countries until satisfactory reparation had been made for the ships seized under the Rambouillet Decree, the president accepted Napoleon's promise in good faith, though the promise committed Napoleon to nothing. The Non-Intercourse Act was suspended with respect to France, but commercial intercourse, which had been resumed with England in May, was again forbidden, still further widening the breach between Great Britain and the United States. When the Berlin and Milan decrees were conditionally repealed, they were followed by such customs restrictions as to render trade with French ports prohibitive; besides, hundreds of vessels that had left port on the strength of Napoleon's promise were seized by the French and condemned as prizes. A more perfidious act against the American government had never been perpetrated. It caused general indignation against France, and the Non-Intercourse Act was renewed the following year.

406. Revolt in Florida.—When Joseph Bonaparte was placed on the throne of Spain by Napoleon, it was the signal for revolt in nearly all the Spanish colonies in America. The trouble began in Buenos Ayres and soon included Venezuela, New Granada and Mexico, and from the latter country the influence spread to West Florida. The district of New Filiciana, lying along the eastern bank of the Mississippi, contained a large number of settlers who had entered it from the Territory of Orleans

and other portions of the United States. Thinking that they saw in the confusion an opportunity to sever their connection with Spain, some of the leaders in this district issued a call for a convention. This met and sat with closed doors. The members took no formal action, but the great majority of the delegates, as well as of the people in the district, were in favor of annexation to the United States. The governor promised reforms, which he failed to establish, and the disaffected residents, under the command of one Thomas, proceeded to capture the Spanish fort at Baton Rouge. Among the prisoners was the governor, De Lassus. Elated by their success, the reformers proclaimed West Florida a free and independent state, and applied for admission into the Union, either as a separate state or as a part of the Territory of Orleans. On receiving this application, Madison issued a proclamation declaring West Florida a part of the United States, annexing it to Orleans, and commanding the governor of that territory to see that the proclamation was enforced. The officer sent to take possession of the country offended the local governor, who set out to resist the authorities of the United States, but the arrival of troops and gunboats at Baton Rouge allayed all resistance, and West Florida came under the "Stars and Stripes."

East Florida was also in a turbulent state. For years it had been practically without a government, and was the rendezvous of outlaws and deserters. The move-

ment in West Florida led to an uprising and an attack upon the Spanish fort at Mobile. The attack was repulsed, but lack of support from his home government and rebellion in West Florida so incensed the Spanish governor that he made a proposition to deliver both Floridas to the United States, provided he did not receive assistance within a given time. On the receipt of this proposition, Madison asked Congress for a declaration that the United States could not unconcernedly see Florida pass to another power. He also asked for authority to take possession of the territory, with the consent of the Spanish officials. A bill passed Congress, authorizing the president to take possession of this territory on either of two conditions—if the local authorities were willing to surrender it, or if it should be invaded by foreign powers. Neither of these conditions arose, and the measure came to naught.

407. Louisiana Admitted. — The discussion of the Florida question was opportune for Louisiana, which had long desired admission as a state, and the bill admitting her immediately followed the Florida resolutions. The measure was strenuously opposed by some of the Federalists, who claimed that our territory was becoming too large for proper administration under republican government. Their view has been discussed in Section 389.

408. Bank of the United States.—The Bank of the United States was chartered for twenty years from 1791,

and unless the charter was renewed it must go out of business March 4, 1811. A bill for renewing the charter met with strong opposition from three classes—the old Republicans, who had always opposed the bank as unconstitutional; those who claimed that from patriotic motives they objected to an institution under government control and having stockholders in foreign lands, and those interested in state banks. The strongest opposition came from the last class. When the United States Bank was chartered there were three state banks in the country. By 1810 the number of these had increased to over one hundred. They received deposits, made loans and issued bills of circulation. Some of them were conducted without due care, and the tendency of all was to issue more bills than their capital would warrant. The Bank of the United States had branches in all large cities, and by frequently presenting to the different state banks their bills for redemption, kept the issue of such bills within safe limits. If the United States Bank were compelled to go out of business, this control over state banks would be abolished and these banks would also receive all the deposits now in the Bank of the United States. The combined opposition developed sufficient strength to prevent rechartering, and the bank was compelled to wind up its affairs.

The objections to the bank were short-sighted, unpatriotic and unbusinesslike. The bank had five million dollars in currency in circulation, and over seven million

dollars of its stock was owned abroad. In winding up its affairs it was compelled to withdraw this currency from circulation and also to send abroad sufficient specie to redeem the stock in the hands of foreign holders. The revenues of the country had been greatly reduced by restrictions on our foreign trade; business was in a depressed condition; we were on the verge of war; yet, under these conditions, avarice and petty spite at one blow contracted our circulating medium by over twelve millions of dollars and removed that government control which has always proved necessary to a sound currency.

JOHN RANDOLPH, OF ROANOKE
[From a painting by Thomas Sully, in Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington.]

409. Rise of the War Party.—The weakness of Madison's cabinet has already been intimated (Section 403).

The first years of his administration were characterized by hesitancy and indecision. The government's foreign policy was shaped by a faction in the Senate and not by the president. Gallatin, whose counsel was thrust aside because of the influence of this faction, resigned at the close of the Eleventh Congress. His resignation produced a crisis in the cabinet. Madison knew that he could not dispense with Gallatin's services, and prevailed upon him to recall his resignation on condition that Smith be removed. Monroe, whose long residence in Paris and London had given him a thorough knowledge of foreign affairs, was therefore appointed secretary of state. On his return from England in 1806, Monroe felt certain that no satisfactory adjustment of our difficulties with Great Britain would be reached without war, and he was a strong advocate of immediate and aggressive action on the part of the United States.

The sympathy for France which the Republicans manifested in 1793 was still alive, and the Federalists continued to show their favoritism for England. The Republicans were as noted for their hatred of England as were the Federalists for their friendship towards her. Although opposing the measures by which Jefferson and Madison sought to avoid war, the Federalists were influential in delaying it. Ever since coming into power, the Republicans had maintained a good working majority in Congress. But conditions within the party were gradually changing. The Republicans who were active at the

formation of the government were gradually dropping out and their places were being filled by younger men, who were energetic and aggressive. These men were more interested in the direct administration of government than in the discussion of the theories upon which it was founded. To them the policy of non-resistance while our commerce was being swept from the seas seemed the height of folly. To the younger Republicans and the country at large Madison's policy of hesitation was highly unsatisfactory. This tide of feeling swept the country at the election of the Twelfth Congress, and of the one hundred forty members who sat in the previous Congress, sixty-one failed of reëlection, including some of the prominent men of the party, such as John Randolph. Their places were taken by those who favored a more aggressive policy. Among these were Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun and others who later attained more than a national reputation.

While the whole country suffered from the non-intercourse policy, the industrial conditions of the South were such as to lay the burden of the grievances upon that section. In the North there were no large plantations and no slaves, and the Northern farmer and manufacturer could reduce his hired help with the decline of his business; but the Southern slaveholder was compelled to feed and clothe his slaves. To do this when the European markets were closed against him was well-nigh impossible. The largest shipping interests were in New

England. The merchants of these states preferred commerce with all its attendant dangers to no commerce at all, a condition which war would immediately establish. For these reasons the war party was weak in the North and strong in the South. The Southern leaders were able to secure the following of a goodly number of members from the West, led by Clay. These Westerners, who had no commerce to lose by war, were easily induced to join the war party. The fact that it had always been an ambition among Western leaders to invade and annex Canada had much to do with molding the war sentiment in favor of a contest with England rather than with France.

Pinckney, feeling that further negotiations were hopeless, called for his passports in February, 1811, and returned to the United States. He was soon followed by the new British minister, Foster, who was instructed to protest against the seizure of West Florida, to make satisfactory reparation of the *Chesapeake* affair and to remonstrate with the president for recalling the Non-Intercourse Act against France, claiming that the Berlin and Milan decrees had not been repealed.

However, before Foster reached Washington an event had occurred which caused nearly as much excitement as the *Chesapeake* affair several years before. Repeal of our restrictions on trade with France had brought a fleet of British warships to the coast of the United States for the purpose of capturing American merchant-

men. One of these ships, the *Little Belt*, fell in with the United States frigate *President*, and an engagement followed. The *Little Belt* was disabled and lost thirty-two of her men in killed and wounded. Each commander claimed that the other fired the first shot, but the weight of evidence was against the captain of the British ship. The victory of the *President* caused great rejoicing, and still further intensified the war spirit.

The feeling against Great Britain was also aggravated by disclosures made through the correspondence of John Henry, which was purchased by Madison for fifty thousand dollars. Henry was sent to the New England states by the governor-general of Canada to discover the political condition in that section of the Union, and, also, he claimed, to assist in fomenting a feeling that would lead to the rebellion of the New England states and their annexation to Canada. He spent several months in Boston and other New England towns, during which time he wrote a number of letters to the governor-general and other officials. It seems that at the close of his mission he attempted to sell his information to the British government, but was unsuccessful. He then, through a French intriguer, made overtures to the government at Washington, and was successful. The

AMERICAN INFANTRYMAN
In War of 1812.

correspondence proved nothing and at any other time would not have attracted notice, but the strained relation between the two countries and the manner in which Henry's letters were brought before Congress caused them to exert an influence far beyond that which good judgment should have dictated. When too late, it was learned that they were largely fraudulent, but they had then served the purpose of the war party.

Another presidential election was fast approaching and Madison desired to succeed himself, but the war faction were inclined to oppose him on the ground that he was in favor of continuing peaceful negotiations. When this opposition became known to him, Madison declared himself in favor of war, provided England did not remove her restrictions upon our commerce. April 1, 1812, he sent a message to Congress, recommending the immediate passage of a general embargo act, to continue in force sixty days. As passed, the act was extended to the period of ninety days. However, on June 4, before the time of its expiration had arrived, a declaration of war had passed the House by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-nine. Of the seventy-nine affirmative votes, forty-eight were from the South and West, fourteen from Pennsylvania and the remainder from the New England and Middle states. Of the forty-nine votes against the declaration, thirty-four were from the Northern states. On the seventeenth, the bill passed the Senate by a majority of six, and two days later

Madison issued a proclamation declaring a state of war existing between the United States and Great Britain, and the country entered upon its "second war for independence." The name may with truth be applied to the approaching struggle, for upon its outcome depended the future station of this republic among the nations of the world. Was the young nation to remain free and independent, to find progress and success through its own power and resources, or was it to return to a state of dependence—in fact, if not in name—and be the toy and tool of foreign diplomats?

QUESTIONS

Why did Madison secure the nomination for president? What objection was raised against him?

Did the British have any grounds for the attack upon the *Chesapeake*? Why do you think so?

Was Madison justified in issuing his proclamation, based on the agreement with Erskine?

What was Napoleon's purpose in claiming to recall the Berlin and Milan decrees?

How did Great Britain look upon our seizure of West Florida? Why?

What were the effects of repealing the charter of the United States Bank?

What was the difference between the old and the young Republicans in Congress? Did either of these factions agree with the Federalists? If so, in what particular?

When war was declared against England, could it with equal propriety have been declared against France? Why do you think so?

REFERENCES

In the study of this chapter, the student should consult the books mentioned at the close of Chapter IX, p. 212.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Election of Madison	Nov., 1808
Madison's proclamation repealing Non-Intercourse Act	Apr., 1809
Annexation of West Florida	1810
Rambouillet Decree issued	Mar., 1810
Macon Bill No. 2 passed	May, 1810
Announcement by Napoleon of conditional repeal of Berlin and Milan decrees	Aug., 1810
Proclamation by president of non-intercourse with Great Britain	Nov., 1810
Napoleon's proclamation ordering seizure of American vessels in French ports	Dec., 1810
Admission of Louisiana	1811
Departure of American minister from England	Feb., 1811
Termination of United States Bank charter	Mar., 1811
Engagement of *President* and the *Little Belt*	May 16, 1811
Purchase of the John Henry letters	Feb., 1812
Embargo reënacted	Apr., 1812
War declared against Great Britain	June 19, 1812

CHAPTER XI

SECOND WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

1812-1815

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—The tendency in the study of a war is to give undue emphasis to campaigns and battles. Only a few of these in the War of 1812 demand attention. These are the campaign for the possession of the Great Lakes, the attempted invasion of the United States by way of Lake Champlain and the campaign on Chesapeake Bay. It is especially important to note the military and naval condition of the country at the beginning and at the close of the war, and the effect which the war had upon these departments in the following administrations. Notice the conditions in Europe which hastened the conclusion of peace, and the peculiar terms of the treaty.

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410. Condition of the Country.—1. GROWTH.—Twenty years of growth under the Constitution had more than doubled our population, and at the third census it was nearly seven and one-fourth millions. Our territory had increased from eight hundred twenty-eight thousand square miles to two million square miles. The national debt had been reduced nearly thirty millions of dollars, and notwithstanding the attacks upon our foreign commerce the second decade under the Federal government had been one of general prosperity. The steamboat had been invented, manufactures had increased and thousands of emigrants had crossed the mountains and established homes in what was then the West.

2. The Army.—Whatever our prosperity, we were in no wise prepared for war, and Madison confronted a condition which showed more clearly and forcibly than could have possibly been demonstrated by the keenest logician the folly of both his and Jefferson's policy in regard to military and naval affairs. When war was declared the regular army consisted of only six thousand seven hundred men, and the service was notoriously unpopular. The general officers were old Revolutionary soldiers or men who had never seen service. The military organization was defective and the secretary of war was inefficient. At no time during the war did the regular army number thirty-five thousand, and the country was obliged to rely largely upon the militia for its defense.

The Twelfth Congress authorized the raising of six additional regiments, voted to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers and to call out one hundred thousand militia, but provided that the latter could be used by the president for only three purposes—to execute the laws; to put down insurrection, and to repel invasion.[1] Both these measures met with opposition from the peace party, and later the governors of Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts refused to allow the militia to leave their respective states at the call of the president. All offensive measures carried on without the boundaries of the United States devolved upon the regular army.

[1] Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, Clause 15.

3. The Frontier.—Our western frontier extended from Sault Sainte Marie to New Orleans, but the fort on Mackinac Island was the most northerly outpost. The other important outposts were Detroit, Fort Dearborn, on the present site of Chicago, Fort Wayne, on the site of the present city of that name, and Fort Harrison, on the Wabash. There were no settlements worthy of note

SITE OF OLD FORT WAYNE
In the present city of Fort Wayne, Ind.

west of the Mississippi. The natural Canadian frontier for military purposes extended along the Great Lakes and the Saint Lawrence River, for northern New Hampshire and Maine were covered with a wilderness that no army would attempt to penetrate. The exposed portions of this boundary were from Lake Champlain to Lake Ontario, along this lake to the Niagara River and

further west along the Detroit and Saint Clair Rivers. At none of these outposts did the United States possess a fortification worthy of the name. There were no passable roads connecting the frontier settlements with the older sections of the country, a lack which made the transportation of armies and supplies exceedingly slow, difficult and expensive.

4. The Navy.—In proportion to its size, the navy was in much better condition than the army. It comprised sixteen frigates, corvettes, sloops and brigs, and one hundred sixty-five gunboats. Three of the larger vessels had forty-four guns each; three, thirty-eight guns; one, thirty-two, and another, twenty-eight. All the others had less than twenty each. The gunboats were practically worthless, except for coast defense. The enrollment comprised five thousand seven hundred officers and men, and one thousand five hundred naval militia. No better officers or seamen could be found in any navy. Most of them were men in the prime of life, who had obtained a thorough training either on ships of war or in our merchant marine. The crews were well officered, thoroughly trained and skilled as sailors and gunners, conditions which told in our favor in most of the naval engagements during the war.

5. Divided National Spirit.—The vote by which the declaration of war passed Congress showed not only a strong opposition to the measure, but also that the opposition centered in and about the New England

states; and while these states furnished more than their quota of men during the conflict, they all fostered a strong sentiment against the war. From the outset the councils in Congress were divided, and the administration was often harassed by political opponents. At no time did the country present a united front against the enemy.

MAJOR GENERAL
In the War of 1812.

6. Contrasts. — The United States contained a little over seven million people; Great Britain had a population of about twenty millions. This was compacted into a territory whose area was less than that of New Mexico, while ours extended over a vast stretch of country reaching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. Opposed to our regular army of less than seven thousand men at the beginning of the war, with their inefficient and inexperienced officers, were the British regulars, considered the best soldiers in the world and in numbers exceeding the American army by more than three to one. Over against our little navy of sixteen ships and less than six thousand men, was the British navy of over eight hundred vessels and one hundred fifty thousand seamen.

In revenues and financial backing the British were also much the stronger, and while we were stronger

on land than the British forces in Canada, local conditions under which troops must be moved and operated were such as to prevent our deriving any special benefit from this advantage. Furthermore, the Indians of the North and West were almost a unit in their hostility to the Americans, owing to the rapid advancement of population westward into the Indian hunting-grounds. However, a few of the tribes, such as the Seneca, under Chief Red Jacket, lent their aid against the English.

RED JACKET
[From a painting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

England's one serious—and, as it proved, fatal—disadvantage was the necessity of prosecuting, at the same time with the American war, the great

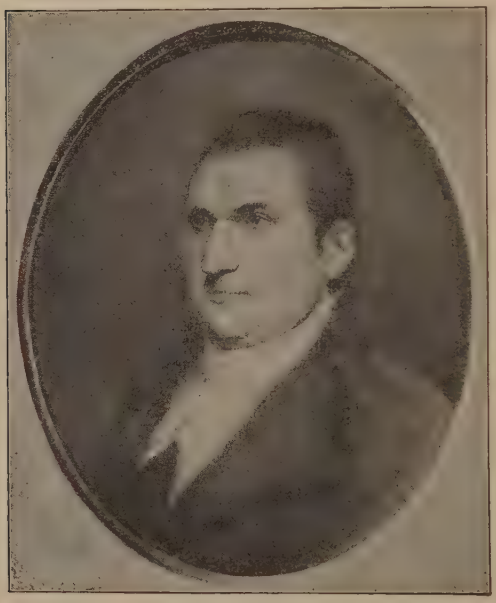
campaign in Europe against Napoleon. The European struggle, which involved the supremacy of Europe, was a constant drain upon the resources of the British Empire and led to extremely niggardly preparations for the prosecution of the comparatively unimportant contest in America. Still, in view of all the facts, the outlook for American success in the approaching conflict was far from promising.

Military Campaigns

1812

411. Attempt to Invade Canada.—1. Conditions of the Combatants.—The entire Canadian frontier was practically exposed to American invasion, and the Canadian authorities, realizing the military weakness of the province, feared that the country as far as Quebec would be occupied by United States troops. The war leaders in Congress also thought that Canada could easily be captured. Clay publicly stated that a regiment of Kentucky regulars could march unmolested to Quebec; Jefferson wrote from Monticello, "The acquisition of Canada this year as far as the neighborhood of Quebec would be a mere matter of marching"; while Calhoun on the floor of Congress stated it to be his belief that in four weeks from the time a declaration of war was heard on the frontier, the whole of Upper Canada and a part of Lower Canada would be in our power. Natural conditions and the comparative strength of the two

countries would possibly have warranted these statements, but the war leaders little realized the condition to which Jefferson's and Madison's military policy had reduced the army. Neither did they realize the consequences of Madison's delay in placing the western posts in a state of defense when he saw that war was inevitable. Several months before the declaration of war General Hull, who for four years had been governor of the Territory of Michigan and was thoroughly conversant with the condition of affairs in the Northwest and the attitude of the Indians towards both Americans and British, placed before the secretary of war a very clear statement of the conditions of that part of the country. In connection with this report, Hull urged upon the administration the importance of immediately strength-



HENRY DEARBORN
[From a painting by Charles Wilson Peale, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

ening the fortifications and garrisons at both Detroit and Michilimackinac, that in case of war the United States might be able to hold these posts against any attack. Immediately following this, General Armstrong, who in 1813 succeeded Eustis as secretary of war, urged upon the administration the necessity of carrying out Hull's suggestions. Nevertheless, nothing was done and both of these posts were left in an exposed condition.

Moreover, Henry Dearborn was appointed senior major-general and placed in command of the Northern District, which extended from the Niagara frontier to Boston. Dearborn had seen service in the Revolution and was Jefferson's secretary of war, but he was slow, lacked executive ability and seemed to have but little comprehension of the responsibilities resting upon him.

Opposed to Dearborn was Isaac Brock, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. Brock was a soldier both by nature and training. Long residence in Canada had made him thoroughly familiar with the political and military situation of his own country and of the United States. He had kept himself well informed and had foreseen for some time that war was inevitable. Under these circumstances he had carefully thought out his plans of campaign, so that when war was actually declared he was prepared to use the forces at his command to the very best advantage. Brock fully realized the inadequacy of his forces and expected that all of

Upper Canada would fall into the hands of the Americans. That these expectations would have been realized had the American army been properly officered and supported by the government at Washington subsequent events amply proved.

Instead of immediately dispatching a messenger to Detroit when war was declared, Dearborn sent a letter by mail, informing the commandant of the fort of this fact. It took the letter much longer to reach its destination than would have been required by a special messenger, and several days before the American forces at Detroit knew of the declaration of war Brock had received the news and was making active preparations to defend his territory.

2. Michilimackinac and Detroit.—In the winter of 1811-1812 Hull went to Washington, and while there was made commander of the District of the Northwest, much against his will. In May he took command of the militia at Dayton, Ohio, and soon after proceeded on his way toward Detroit. He had learned that war was certain, but when he reached the Maumee River he loaded his military supplies and personal baggage on a schooner and sent her down the river toward Detroit. Without his knowledge, his official papers were also placed on board. The schooner was captured by a British armed brig, and Hull's papers were placed in Brock's possession. This informed the British commander of Hull's instructions and plans, as well as the

size of the army with which he was marching toward Detroit.

Brock was rapidly making preparations for the capture of Michilimackinac. About the middle of July a force of six hundred British and Indians, under the convoy of the brig *Caledonia*, appeared before the fort, whose

BATTLEFIELD, MACKINAC ISLAND
The scene of battle following the British attack upon the American post, compelling its surrender. July 17, 1812. [From a recent photograph.]

garrison was not yet aware of the declaration of war, and numbered only fifty-seven men and three officers. The Americans soon surrendered, and this outpost became a British stronghold.

Hull, at the time he received Dearborn's message, was in Canada, at a small town opposite Detroit. His purpose was to advance upon Fort Malden and carry the

works by storm, but slowness and hesitancy characterized all his movements, and after lingering near the fort for some days it was decided at a council of war to abandon the attack, and the army retired to Detroit, whither Hull was soon followed by a force under Brock. No sooner had the town been besieged than Hull, without offering any resistance, surrendered. By these two expeditions Brock gained possession of the entire Territory of Michigan. Hull was afterwards court-martialed and sentenced to be shot for cowardice, but was pardoned by the president in view of his previous services in the Revolutionary War.[1]

3. Queenstown.—Immediately after the surrender of Detroit, Brock returned to Fort George on the Niagara, which he considered the most dangerous part of the frontier. The Americans were constructing some ships at the foot of Lake Erie, and gradually accumulating forces in that vicinity. General Van Rensselaer, who commanded the New York militia, made an attempt to seize the heights at Queenstown, which is located at the head of navigation on Lake Ontario, on the Canadian side of Niagara River. Early in the morning of October

[1] There has been a great deal of controversy over Hull's treatment by the government. That he was blameworthy in the conduct of his expedition against Fort Malden and in surrendering so soon, all must agree. On the other hand, had Madison and Eustis heeded his suggestions the year previous, and had Dearborn acted with the dispatch expected of him, the circumstances which led to the surrender of Detroit would never have occurred. The government was exasperated at its humiliating defeat and vented its wrath upon the unfortunate commander, when the real blame rested upon the secretary of war, the senior major-general and the military policy of Jefferson's and Madison's administrations.

13 Van Rensselaer, with a small force, crossed the river and entered the town. Brock immediately appeared upon the scene and was killed early in the action. The other American commanders failed to support Van Rensselaer, and his entire force was captured. The most important event connected with the assault was the death of Brock. The beautiful column erected upon the spot where he fell appropriately commemorates the life and death of one of the bravest soldiers and ablest administrators that Canada ever knew.

BROCK MONUMENT, QUEENSTOWN HEIGHTS
Erected in 1824 by the Ontario provincial legislature in honor of Sir Isaac Brock's heroic defense of Queenstown Heights, during which he was mortally wounded.

4. NIAGARA. — General William Henry Harrison, who, the year previous, had defeated the Indians at Tippecanoe, succeeded Hull as military commander. Harrison immediately began operations to drive the British out of Detroit. He had an army composed of Kentucky

and Ohio volunteers, all of whom were skilled in fighting against the Indians, but they were ignorant of military tactics or discipline, and during the first year of their organization were able to accomplish but little.

On Harrison's march toward Detroit a detachment under Winchester reached the River Raisin, in southern Michigan, where it was attacked by the British and Indians under Procter. The American forces were overpowered and obliged to surrender, and the usual Indian massacre followed. Following this disaster, Harrison fell back upon Fort Meigs, which was near the present town of Defiance, Ohio. In this fort and the neighboring Fort Stephenson, Harrison's army spent the winter, and were besieged by Procter the following spring; but reënforcements relieved the garrison and the British were compelled to retreat.

5. The Lakes.—At the beginning of the war the British were stronger than the Americans upon the Lakes, and along with Detroit they captured a brig in the process of construction. This was soon completed and armed and added one more ship to their fleet. This brig, renamed the *Detroit*, together with the *Caledonia*, sailed down Lake Erie to the vicinity of Buffalo, where both ships were captured in the night by a detachment of troops and marines under Lieutenant Elliott. Although both were run aground, so that the United States forces were unable to use them, their capture was a serious blow to the small navy which the British

had upon Lake Erie. In the fall Captain Chauncey, who for four years had been in command of the navy yard in New York, was sent to Sackett's Harbor on Lake Ontario with full power to purchase or construct such ships as were necessary to provide an American fleet for the Great Lakes. Chauncey sent several hundred seamen and ship carpenters in advance and procured the necessary stores and armament for his ships, which were transported most of the way by water. During the fall and winter he completed a small fleet, but one which was of sufficient strength to prevent successful operations by British vessels upon Lake Ontario.

1813

412. Invasion of Canada.—1. Operations on Lake Ontario.—Both the Americans and the British realized that the control of Canada and the Northwest would be determined by the control of the Lakes; consequently the fall of 1812 and winter of 1813 saw each party engaged in trying to outdo the other in ship-building. On Lake Ontario the American works were at Sackett's Harbor and the British at Kingston. During the early part of the season of 1813 the advantage on Ontario was with the Americans. General Dearborn and Captain Chauncey in April conducted an expedition against York (now Toronto), sacked and burned the city, and burned a British brig on the stocks. An act of vandalism for which the country afterwards dearly paid was the burn-

THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

Perry leaving his disabled flagship *Lawrence* and crossing to the *Niagara* to continue the fight. [From a painting by W. H. Powell, in the Capitol, Washington.]

ing of the government buildings. On leaving York, the American forces proceeded to Fort Niagara, whence Dearborn crossed the river to Fort George, but was defeated in two small engagements and returned to the American side. Soon after this he resigned.

During the summer the British made an attack upon Sackett's Harbor, but were repulsed after inflicting some damage. Later in the season the American fleet under Chauncey and the British fleet under Yeo maneuvered upon the lake several days, each for the purpose of securing a point of vantage before beginning an attack. Finally two sloops were detached from the American squadron and captured by the British. This disaster gave the British fleet the advantage, and Chauncey retired to Sackett's Harbor, where he remained until late in September.

2. Battle of Lake Erie.—Early in the winter of 1812-1813 Captain Oliver H. Perry was transferred from New York to the Department of the Lakes, and by Commodore Chauncey assigned to command upon Lake Erie. Perry arrived at Presque Isle (now Erie) in March, and spent the spring and early part of the summer in completing the fleet, which upon arrival he found in the process of construction. The difficulties which he had to overcome in securing men and material for his fleet were almost insurmountable; nevertheless, by the first of June he had completed, armed and manned two large vessels, carrying twenty guns each, and seven small vessels.

His entire armament consisted of fifty-four guns, while his force numbered four hundred sixteen officers and men.

The harbor in which these vessels were constructed was protected by a sandbar, over which the water was very shallow, and although the British fleet appeared several times during the summer, they were unable to approach near enough to prevent Perry's operations. When his preparations had been completed, Perry succeeded in taking his ships over the bar by placing the heavy guns in boats, then sinking barges upon each side of the vessels, to which they were then attached by beams. As the water was pumped from the barges they served as lighters, raising the vessels out of the water sufficiently to enable them to pass outside the harbor with ease and safety. This feat accomplished and his guns reshipped, Perry set out for the upper part of Lake Erie, making

OLIVER H. PERRY

his headquarters at Put-in-Bay, where his fleet could easily watch the operations of the British fleet on the opposite shore. The fleets watched each other for about three weeks. The British commander, Barclay, delayed action, hoping he might secure reënforcements, of which he was in great need.

On September 10 the British fleet weighed anchor and stood out into the lake, evidently prepared for action. Perry hastily called his commanding officers together upon his flagship, the *Lawrence*, gave them final instructions and displayed before them his flag, which was a purple pennant bearing in white letters Captain Lawrence's last words: "Don't give up the ship". (Section 418), which from that time became the motto of the American navy. Perry instructed his commanders to oppose ship to ship in attacking the British fleet. He clearly saw that the advantage would then be largely with the Americans. Perry's ship, the *Lawrence*, was selected to oppose the British flagship, the *Detroit*. Fortunately, before going into action, the wind shifted decidedly in favor of the American fleet. As the lines of battle neared each other, the British gave the signal for action, and the *Lawrence* was within a few minutes the center of fire from a number of British

PERRY'S PENNANT

ships. Nevertheless, Perry forced his ship ahead until it came within close range of the *Detroit*, after which he poured several broadsides into the enemy's vessel, but the proximity of other ships so damaged the *Lawrence* that she became unmanageable.

When Perry saw that further resistance upon the *Lawrence* was useless, he hauled down his pennant, took it under his arm and, embarking in an open boat, went to the *Niagara*. He immediately took command of this ship and sent Captain Elliott to bring up the smaller boats, which were following in the rear. Perry now resolved to break the line of attack, and successfully forced the *Niagara* between the British vessels, delivering broadsides to all within reach. The effect of the cannonade from the *Niagara*, combined with that from the *Caledonia* and some of the smaller ships that now reached the scene of action, soon caused the British commander to lower his colors. Thereupon Perry sent to General Harrison the dispatch—scarcely less famous than the words of Lawrence—"We have met the enemy and they are ours." Numerically the forces were nearly equal; but Perry was only twenty-seven years of age, and had never seen a naval engagement, while the British commander was a trained naval officer of extended experience and notable ability. These facts made the success of the Americans the more remarkable, and placed Perry in the rank of the bravest and ablest commanders of his day. The battle won for the Americans the con-

NIAGARA FALLS
A general view from the Canadian shore.

trol of the Lakes and the restoration of the Territory of Michigan. The brave commodore and his celebrated victory have been commemorated by a beautiful monument erected at Put-in-Bay.

3. Detroit Reoccupied.—As previously stated (Section 411, 4), General Harrison, after the disaster on the River Raisin, remained at Forts Meigs and Stephenson during the winter, where he was unsuccessfully besieged by Procter the following spring. While anxious to retrieve the American fortunes in the Northwest, Harrison fully realized that any movement of the land forces was useless until the Americans obtained control of Lake Erie.

4. Battle of the Thames. — Immediately after Perry's victory Harrison prepared for aggressive movements. His troops were transported across the lake and took possession of Detroit, which had been evacuated by the British, who started eastward. Harrison followed and overtook Procter, who was commanding a force of British and Indians at the Thames River. After a hotly contested engagement the British and Indians were completely routed. The celebrated Indian chief Tecumseh, who had caused so much trouble upon the frontier, was killed in this battle. With these engagements the British forces were driven from the Northwest and from western Canada, so that no further engagements occurred in this locality during the war.

5. Chrysler's Farm.—Dearborn was succeeded by General James Wilkinson, notorious for his connection with the Burr conspiracy (Section 394, 3), and, if anything, more incompetent than his predecessor. Wilkinson reached Sackett's Harbor about the first of September and called a council of war, at which a plan of campaign was agreed upon. The army and fleet

THE WAR OF 1812 IN THE NORTH

assembled at Sackett's Harbor were to make a feint against Kingston, then descend the Saint Lawrence, clear the river of the enemy's vessels and in conjunction with another detachment of troops from Lake Champlain, attack Montreal. The plan was good and the Americans had such a force as to warrant success, but from the beginning the movement was impeded by petty jeal-

ousies and bickerings among the officers, a number of whom failed to carry out their instructions.

An expedition started for Grenadier's Island, at the head of the Saint Lawrence River proper, on October 17. The troops were conveyed in batteaus. The boats were separated by a storm, and it was two weeks before all the troops reached their destination. The army then started to descend the Saint Lawrence. They passed the fort at Prescott, some miles below Ogdensburg, safely, but as they continued on the way the situation became more grave. Chauncey, who was to blockade the river and keep the British ships in port, performed his work so badly that the British ships followed the Americans. A detachment of British troops also followed along the river bank and fired into the Americans whenever they came within gunshot. At White House the troops were landed, a council of war was called and it was decided to push on and at the same time to drive back the British who were harassing the army in the rear. The march was now by land and the advance was under the command of General Jacob Brown, who had successfully defended Sackett's Harbor against the British early in the summer. The rear was under the command of General Boyd, who was ordered to disperse the British that were following the army. On November 10 Brown reached a place called Chrysler's Farm. The following morning the British attacked the rear division under Boyd, who immediately sent to Brown

for aid, but his request was unheeded and the Americans were defeated. This division now joined Brown's, and the next day the entire army crossed the river and were safe within the United States, having failed completely in the purpose for which the expedition was organized.

6. The Army Reorganized.—The disasters of 1812 and 1813 showed clearly that the army of the United States could hope for no success until it was properly officered and drilled. Wilkinson, after quarreling with the secretary of war, resigned and was succeeded by General George Izard. With his appointment came a turn in the tide of military affairs in the Northern District. General Izard was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and had also studied in the best military schools of England and Germany. He was thoroughly conversant with the various European systems of military tactics, and was also a competent engineer. Associated with him were Generals Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott. The former had already won distinction by his defense of Sackett's Harbor, and the latter was to lead the armies of the United States to victory on Mexican soil. These officers realized the value of organization and discipline. Scott immediately set to work and translated from the Spanish a work on military tactics, and the winter of 1813-1814 was spent in drilling the troops. As the campaign of 1814 approached, the army had a fair preparation for encountering the enemy.

1814

413. Successes and Defeats.—At the outbreak of the war the British were in no condition to engage in conflict with the United States, since the war in Europe required all the resources of the empire, but in the spring of 1814, the allied forces defeated Napoleon and sent him a prisoner to the Isle of Elba. When this danger was removed Great Britain was left in position to prosecute the war in America with vigor and effect. She consequently planned three distinct campaigns for the season—to invade the United States from Canada, to blockade the Atlantic coast and to gain possession of the Territory of Orleans. Large detachments of the British regulars who had served under Wellington, as well as an efficient fleet, were sent to America to accomplish these purposes.

1. Chippewa and Lundy's Lane.—When Wilkinson went into winter quarters he left the outposts on the Niagara frontier shamefully unprotected. Nearly all of the troops had been withdrawn for the campaign against Montreal, and none were returned; therefore, in the spring of 1814, the forces in Canada immediately proceeded to take possession of this portion of the frontier and Generals Brown and Scott were sent to regain the positions. The British forces consisted of about four thousand troops under General Riall. These were scattered among the different outposts from Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara River, to Fort Erie, at its begin-

ning. On the third of July General Brown appeared before Fort Erie, which soon surrendered. The American army then proceeded northward on the Canadian side of the river, and the advance division under Scott met the British at the Chippewa, where a sharp engagement followed. The British were defeated and retired to Queenstown, where they were followed by Brown.

PERRY'S MONUMENT
Put-in-Bay.

The Americans found that the British were too strongly intrenched for successful assault, and Brown retired to Chippewa. He was followed by Riall, who had been reënforced, and another severe engagement ensued at Lundy's Lane. The result was practically a tie, for although the British retired from the field, the Americans were so thoroughly exhausted that they could not follow. Both Generals Brown and Scott were wounded in this engagement, and the command fell to General Gage, who withdrew the American forces to Fort Erie, where, later in

the season, they were besieged by the British under Drummond. However, the siege was fruitless and the year closed with the Americans in possession of the fort.

2. Plattsburg and Lake Champlain.—About ten thousand British regulars had entered Canada by the Saint Lawrence and proceeded up the Sorel River to the foot of Lake Champlain, where for some time they had subsisted upon beef and produce provided them by the farmers of northern New York and Vermont, who were perfectly willing to carry on the traffic for the large profits it yielded. The purpose of this army, which was under General Prevost, was to invade the United States by the Champlain valley, covering almost exactly the line of march pursued by Burgoyne in 1777 (Section 288, 1).

THOMAS McDONOUGH

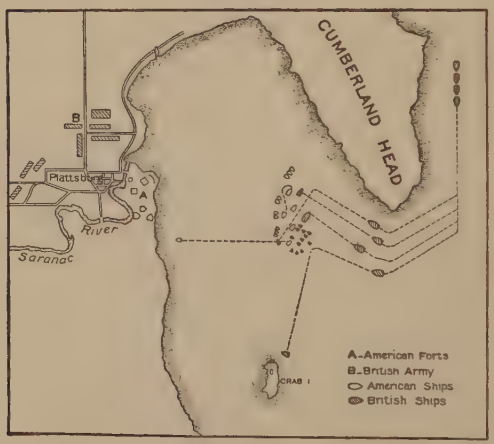
The opposition to the war in New England had led the

British to believe that this part of the United States could easily be detached from the Union and joined to Canada. General Izard had a force of about six thousand troops at Plattsburg, but just as the British army came upon the scene he was ordered by the secretary of war to proceed with four thousand of these men to Fort Erie to relieve Brown. A more short-sighted policy could not have been conceived. This left only a small force of Americans under General Macomb, whose troops, however, were well protected by intrenchments, and on the approach of the British their numbers were increased to about five thousand by the addition of volunteers.

In 1813 the Americans had only two small sloops on Lake Champlain, and these were captured by the British. Lieutenant McDonough, who was in command on the lake, proceeded to provide a flotilla by the construction of a number of ships and the purchase of others. His work in this respect very closely resembled that of Perry on Lake Erie. The fleet was practically completed in the early summer of 1813, but McDonough was unable to use it with effect because the British had retired to the Sorel River. Meantime, three new sloops were added, which greatly increased the power of the fleet. Early in the spring of 1814 the British fleet sailed up the lake, but was compelled to retire after a sharp encounter.

Nothing of importance occurred during the summer, but early in September Prevost advanced towards Plattsburg with an army of about five thousand regulars. At the

same time Captain Downey, who was in command of the British fleet, prepared to attack McDonough, whose ships were anchored in Plattsburg Bay. The British commanders had planned to make a simultaneous attack upon the intrenchments and fleet. McDonough had placed his ships in line of battle in the bay, protected by Cumberland Head and completely hidden from the British till they rounded the point. For some reason, General Prevost failed to cooperate with Downey as expected, though he engaged the American forces some time after the naval battle began. After a fierce encounter of about two hours the British ships were compelled to strike their colors, though a few of the smaller gunboats escaped. When Prevost saw the result of the naval battle he made a hasty retreat across the border, and no further attempt to invade the United States was made.



BATTLE OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN

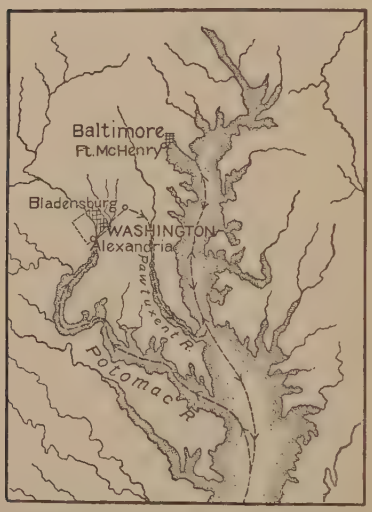
The naval battle on Lake Champlain in many respects resembles that upon Lake Erie. The fleets were hastily

constructed of such material as was at hand. In point of strength, the advantage was with the British, who had four large ships and twelve gunboats, with a force of about a thousand men and ninety-five guns, while the Americans had a force of eight hundred men and eighty-six guns. McDonough was a young man who had seen some service in the Mediterranean. His management of his fleet displayed remarkable skill and courage, and this victory gave him high rank as a naval commander, some authorities considering him in this respect superior to Perry. The battle was one of the greatest importance, as it repelled an invasion that, had it succeeded, might have obliged the United States to make a treaty far different from that which closed the war.

3. Blockade of the Coast.—The large fleet of British warships was enabled to blockade the coast with a fair degree of success, since none of the entrances to the harbors was in any way defended. The coast of Maine, from the eastern boundary as far as the Penobscot River, was seized and held until the close of the war. Numerous towns along the New England coast were also bombarded and sacked, and the depredations of the British caused great anxiety and even terror in the towns along the seaboard. The losses thus brought upon the New England seaports intensified the opposition to the war.

4. Capture of Washington.—The most effective blockade was carried on along Chesapeake Bay. The British ships anchored at the entrance were able to close

this body of water so completely that American vessels could neither enter nor leave it. Detachments from these ships landed at various places and destroyed buildings and carried off stock and produce for their subsistence. The Americans, removing and secreting what property they could, fled before the British marauders.



BRITISH ADVANCE UPON WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE

On the morning of June 22 an attempt was made to capture Norfolk, but the British were repulsed after a short engagement, constituting what is generally known as the Battle of Craney Island. From Norfolk they proceeded against Hampton, which was completely sacked and destroyed, no respect being paid to private property or citizens.

The inhabitants of Washington and neighboring cities were now thoroughly alarmed. There were no defenses around the capital city, and apparently nothing to prevent the British from entering it at their will. A hasty call was made upon the governors of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania for militia. The response enabled the

Americans to gather an army of about three thousand five hundred. A thousand of these were regulars and some over four hundred were marines. This force was placed under the command of General Winder, who proved to be thoroughly incompetent and unequal to the task imposed upon him.

The British proceeded up the Pawtuxent, where they destroyed the flotilla of gunboats, and then on their march met the Americans at Bladensburg. Without offering any effective resistance the Americans fled. Upon September 12 the British forces under Cockburn entered Washington, burned the Capitol, the president's house and several other public buildings, and then hastily retired. This act of vandalism, they claimed, was in retaliation for the destruction of the government buildings at York by the Americans two years before. In the burning of the Capitol, the national library and many valuable records were destroyed, a loss for which there could be no compensation.

5. The Attack upon Baltimore.—The British continued their journey up the Chesapeake, with the intention of capturing Baltimore. This, however, was protected by Fort McHenry, and after a bombardment of twenty-four hours the British fleet was obliged to retire. When the land forces appeared before the city they found the Americans strongly intrenched behind earthworks which they could not carry. Therefore they made a hasty retreat, embarking upon their boats and

departing for Jamaica. Thus closed a campaign which constitutes one of the most humiliating incidents in the entire history of the United States.[1]

FRANCIS SCOTT KEY
[From a painting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

6. The Creek War. — From the outbreak of the war the United States was threatened upon the south by the Spaniards and outlaws who had gathered in Florida. Spanish authorities believed this a good opportunity to regain the territory which they had lost, and under the leadership of some

[1] The bombardment of Fort McHenry gave us the *Star Spangled Banner*, next to *America* our most popular national hymn. Francis Scott Key had gone under a flag of truce in a small boat to the British frigate *Surprise*, to secure the release of a friend. He reached the frigate just as the bombardment was to commence, and was not allowed to return; therefore, as prisoner of war, he was obliged to witness the bombardment, which continued through the night. When, on the following morning, Key saw the flag still waving over the fort, he wrote the poem. A few days later it was published in the Baltimore *Patriot*,

of these outlaws the Indians were incited to hostilities. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Kentucky and Tennessee hailed the war as an opportunity for the United States to acquire possession of all the Spanish territory on the Gulf, and were anxiously awaiting an outbreak which would warrant an expedition into that country. The harbors were made the homes for privateers and pirates, and conditions were such that Madison felt warranted in seizing the territory and holding it at least until the close of the war. General Wilkinson, who was then in command at New Orleans, was ordered to prepare an expedition for entering West Florida, and a body of militia from Tennessee, under General Jackson, was dispatched down the Mississippi River to coöperate with him. Jackson, however, was halted at Natchez, and soon afterward Wilkinson was transferred to the Northern District. For some reason Jackson was ordered to return and disband his troops. The first part of the order he obeyed, but happily he neglected to comply with the second part, and maintained the troops on his own responsibility.

For a number of years the Indians in the territory now comprising Mississippi, Alabama and the western part of Georgia, had been under the care of an agent

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under the title, *The Defense of Fort McHenry*. At Key's suggestion, the song was set to the tune of *Anacreon in Heaven*, which some fifteen years before had been used for the song, *Adams and Liberty*. The music was composed by John Stafford Smith, an Englishman, some time between 1770 and 1775. The *Star Spangled Banner* was first sung by Ferdinand Durang in a Baltimore tavern.

who had used his influence in enabling them to better their conditions. Many had learned to till the soil, had built comfortable homes and had possessed themselves of livestock. The largest number in this condition were found among the Creeks. Dwelling with them were many half-breeds, who had adopted the customs of civilization and were looked upon as leaders.

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TIPPECANOE BATTLEGROUND
The scene of the engagement of November 7, 1811, near the village of Battle Ground, Tippecanoe County, Ind.

In 1811 Tecumseh visited the Indians in this part of the country and endeavored to incite them to insurrection in sympathy with northern tribes. While they were greatly excited over his visit, it led to no direct action, owing, probably, to the severe defeat of the Indians at

Tippecanoe, by a government force under William Henry Harrison. The following year an expedition under the chief Little Warrior was dispatched to the Chickasaw on a friendly mission. Instead of returning as they should have done, these Indians went on to Canada and joined the British. After the fall of Detroit they returned, but on their way murdered the families at a small settlement on the frontier. These acts caused much excitement among the Indians. Little Warrior was influenced largely by the British officers in Canada, who sent by him a message to the Spaniards in Florida.

When these facts became known, the United States authorities demanded of the Creeks that they surrender the murderers. Little Warrior and his companions, alarmed at the prospect, fled to the forest, where they were pursued by Indians under the direction of their chiefs, and killed. The Indians unfriendly to the United States were greatly incensed at this and organized a large war party, under a half-breed named McQueen. The whites and friendly Indians, thoroughly alarmed at the hostile attitude of this organization, abandoned their homes and intrenched themselves in stockades around the largest and strongest houses. The most important of these fortifications was known as Fort Mims. This was attacked and nearly the entire garrison, men, women and children, were massacred. Following this massacre, Jackson and his Tennesseeans were ordered into the country, and in October he started with two

thousand five hundred infantry and a thousand cavalry. In the campaign, which lasted more than six months, Jackson fought a number of battles and thoroughly subdued the Indians, compelling the Creeks in their final treaty to release their claim to most of the territory now contained in Mississippi and Alabama.

On completion of his campaign against the Indians, Jackson tried to provoke a quarrel with the Spanish governor at Pensacola, which would give him an excuse for invading Florida. The excuse was soon furnished. Late in July an English officer, Major Nicholls, appeared before Pensacola with commissioned officers, a few soldiers and a thousand stands of arms. He issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Kentucky and Tennessee and the Territory of Louisiana, in which he called upon them to forsake the government of the United States and become British subjects. Nicholls immediately proceeded to enlist and drill the Indians, also

MONUMENT, NEW ORLEANS
On spot where General Jackson and staff stood during the battle of January 8, 1815.

associating with him several notorious pirates who made their headquarters off the coast. Several minor expeditions as the result of Nicholls's actions aroused the Americans, and on the twelfth of September the British attacked an American fortification known as Fort Bowyer. After an engagement of about an hour the British ships were obliged to retire. Jackson was unable to follow up this victory for want of troops, but late in October he received a reënforcement of four thousand, and immediately marched against Pensacola, which he carried by storm on November 7. The forts were destroyed and Jackson's forces returned to Mobile. This ended British depredations in Florida.

7. Battle of New Orleans.—By far the largest and most important expedition that the British dispatched to American waters during the war was that sent against New Orleans late in 1814, under the command of Sir Edward Pakenham. It consisted of fifty ships carrying over a thousand guns, and a force of twenty thousand soldiers and seamen, all of whom had seen service with Wellington or Nelson. On the tenth of December this fleet appeared at the entrance to Lake Borgne, where the troops were landed and a camp was established. A slight engagement attended the landing, in which the Americans lost a small flotilla of gunboats. Previous to this, Jackson had reached New Orleans and had taken effective measures for its defense. While the British were bringing up their troops, reënforcements

were continually joining Jackson's army, so that by the time the British were ready to advance he had gathered about him a motley army of frontiersmen, creoles, Indians, negroes and sailors, besides some regulars that had been sent from the older states, numbering in all

BONZANO HOUSE, CHALMETTE
Headquarters of General Andrew Jackson during the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815.

about six thousand. To all appearances this army was an object of contempt, but the British commanders made here the same mistake that they had often made before. They did not recognize the fact that these frontiersmen were the best marksmen in the world and

that their training would lead them to shoot with a purpose.

Both armies maneuvered several days for advantage. Jackson intrenched his men behind rude breastworks constructed of earth and lumber. He had stationed his army in such a position that the British, in order to take his works, must advance over a narrow, open field, upon which could be concentrated the fire of the entire American force. On January 8, 1815, the British, twelve thousand strong, under cover of a dense fog and led by Pakenham, assaulted Jackson's works. Within a few minutes the British army was in full retreat, having lost two thousand five hundred men and their first and second commanding officers. The American loss was less than one hundred killed and wounded. Some days later the British embarked on their ships and retired. Unhappily, this, the most severe battle of the war, was fought after the treaty of peace had been signed, but communication was so slow that news of the event had not reached America.

War on the Ocean

414. Introductory.—We have already noticed (Section 410) the great contrast in the efficiency of the army and navy at the beginning of the war, and this was more strongly emphasized as the conflict progressed. Though small, our navy was efficient and well-manned, and when several of the ships kept together, during the years of 1812 and 1813, they were able to so divide the

British squadron as to prevent a complete blockade of the coast, and also to capture a number of prizes.

The naval battles on the ocean during the War of 1812 are peculiar in that nearly all of them were duels between single ships. Moreover, with one exception, wherever the American ships encountered a British vessel of the same size and force, the Americans were victorious. These successes were largely due to the superior skill and training of the American seamen, who were at that time the most skillful gunners upon the ocean. While the careers of all our ships of war are of interest, only a few of the most important can be noticed.

THE BRITISH EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW ORLEANS

415. The Constitution.—While sailing from New York soon after the declaration of war, the *Constitution*, under the command of Captain Hull, fell in with the British squadron, by which she was chased for two days and three nights, escaping only by the remarkable skill of her commander in maneuvering and sailing his ship. In August, while in the entrance to the Gulf of Saint Law-

rence, she fell in with the British frigate *Guerriere*, under the command of Captain Dacres. The *Constitution* had fifty-five guns and a crew of four hundred sixty-eight, while the *Guerriere* had forty-nine guns and a crew of two hundred thirty-six. Both were good ships and in excellent trim. After an engagement lasting half an hour, the *Guerriere*, having lost her masts and all her

OLD IRONSIDES
The battleship *Constitution* as it appeared after its last restoration.

rigging, was compelled to strike. The ship was so badly damaged that she could not be taken into port, and Captain Hull, transferring his prisoners to the *Constitution*, blew up the *Guerriere* and sailed for Boston, where he received a great ovation. Later, under Commodore Bainbridge, the *Constitution* captured the *Java* and then, under the command of Captain Stewart, the brig

Cyane and the sloop of war *Levant* at the same time, though the *Levant* was soon recaptured by a British brig. During the war the *Constitution* was blockaded three times, but each time succeeded in running the blockade and returning with one or more prizes.[1]

DAVID PORTER

416. The Essex. —The *Essex*, under Captain Porter, was assigned to Admiral Rogers's squadron, but was not ready to sail with the other ships. When prepared for sea she went to South American waters, where she took a convoy from the

[1] The *Constitution* is one of the most remarkable ships ever connected with the navy of the United States, and in the War of 1812 she won a position similar to that accorded the *Oregon* in the late war with Spain. She was launched in 1797, and was constructed after the plans and under the supervision of experienced naval officers. She embodied the latest experience of all nations and was regarded by British naval officers as the best frigate afloat. Her capacity was 1560 tons, and as first equipped she carried 44 guns. This number was afterwards increased to 55. In 1830 the old ship was reported unseaworthy and ordered to be broken up. On the issuance of this order, Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote his famous poem, *Old Ironsides*, which was published in the

British frigate *Minerva* and captured the sloop *Alert*, which with his previous captures gave Porter over five hundred prisoners. Sending these to Halifax under parole, Porter started for the Pacific, where he visited the coast of South America as far as the port of Tumbez in the present United States of Colombia. He visited the Galapagos Islands, and during his cruise captured British whaling vessels aggregating in value over two and one-half million dollars, besides setting free two American whalers captured by a Peruvian privateer. The *Essex* was finally blockaded in the harbor of Valparaiso by two British ships, and, on attempting to run the blockade, she was captured.[1]

417. The Wasp.—The *Wasp* was a sloop of twenty-two guns. She sailed for the West Indies in October of 1812, and captured a British brig of twenty guns, but within two hours was captured with her prize by the frigate *Portiers* of seven guns. Another vessel, known as the *Wasp Number Two* and commanded by Captain Berkeley, cruised in the British Channel in 1814, where she captured the *Reindeer* and the *Avon*. In September, off the Azores, she captured the *Atlanta*, a very valuable prize, but was never heard of afterwards.

Boston *Advertiser*. The poem aroused such a remonstrance that the order was recalled. The *Constitution* was rebuilt and again entered service in 1833. In 1855 she was laid up in Portsmouth Navy Yard, where she was used as a training ship. She was again partially rebuilt in 1877, and the following year made her last trip across the Atlantic. In 1897 she was placed permanently in the Boston Navy Yard, and is now used for barracks.

[1] David G. Farragut, the great admiral of the Civil War, began his duties on the *Essex* as midshipman.

418. The Chesapeake.—The *Chesapeake* was commanded by Captain Lawrence, who, as commander of the *Hornet*, gained fame by the capture of the British brig *Peacock*. Lawrence was challenged by the commander of the *Shannon*, a British ship having the same number of guns and a crew of equal size. At the time the *Chesapeake* was at anchor in Boston harbor and when Lawrence sailed out for the battle it seemed that he failed to take the advantage which the wind gave him, and soon after the engagement began the *Chesapeake* became helpless and was boarded by the British. Lawrence received a mortal wound and as the British were about to board his vessel he uttered the words which have since inspired the bravest efforts of American seamen, "Don't give up the ship." In spite of brave resistance the *Chesapeake* was captured and taken as a prize to Halifax.

419. Privateers.—While the blockade was so effective against merchantmen as to practically destroy our commerce upon the sea, it was not entirely effective against privateers, many of which escaped to prey upon British commerce. Within a month after the declaration of war over sixty such ships had sailed, and before November nearly as many more were added to this number. These ships were light, fast sailers and armed with guns having a long range. While most of them were unable to contend with a ship of war, they were all capable of capturing merchantmen, however well such ships might be armed, and during 1812 and 1813 they inflicted heavy

damage upon British commerce. Occasionally one fell in with a British squadron and was captured, but most of them succeeded in eluding their pursuers. By 1814 these vessels had either captured or driven from the sea all the slower, more cumbersome ships, and for this reason the old style of privateer had become almost useless.

A new class of vessels was placed upon the ocean that year, which were even more efficient than their predecessors. These ships were remarkable for their lightness, their long, slender masts and the amount of sail which they could carry. They were so built and rigged that they could be almost turned about in going the length of the vessel, an advantage which none of the British ships possessed. For this reason they were often able to encounter and destroy ships whose armaments and crews were much larger than their own. So effective was the work of the privateers during the war that they captured more than a thousand British vessels, which were either taken into ports and condemned as prizes or destroyed. Their work caused a great increase in the rates of insurance upon British merchant vessels.

420. Work of the British Navy.—While in proportion to the size of her navy the United States was unusually successful upon the ocean, the British navy so far outnumbered ours in ships and men that before the close of the war Great Britain was able to destroy our commerce and to blockade our ports so effectually as practically to prevent communication by sea. After the overthrow of

Napoleon a large number of British ships of war were released from duty in Europe. These were immediately dispatched to American waters, and had the war continued another year this blockade would have practically ruined the industries of the country.

JAMES LAWRENCE

421. The Treaty of Peace. — Two days before war was declared the British Orders in Council were withdrawn, and the notice of this action reached the United States before hostilities had actually begun. Foster, the British minister to the United States, learned the news when he reached Halifax and exerted all his influence to secure a stay of hostilities, but the war party in Congress was rampant and refused to listen to his requests. The war was opposed by Russia, because she felt that it weakened England, with whom she was allied against Napoleon. Therefore, in the fall of 1812, Russia offered

to act as a mediator between the belligerent nations. In accordance with this offer, Madison, in May, 1813, appointed Gallatin and Bayard special commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace. On their arrival the commissioners found that Great Britain would not accept the offices of Russia, but towards the end of the year a direct offer of negotiation was made by the British government, and John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell were added to the commission.

The commissioners from the two countries met in Ghent, August 8, 1814, and continued negotiations until December 24, when the treaty was signed. The only ground on which the commissioners could come together was the condition existing previous to the commencement of hostilities; so the treaty contained no agreements as to territorial boundaries, impressment or the rights of neutrals in the time of war. However, the conditions which had given rise to these points of international law had passed, and they have never since been called in question, all nations having accepted the view advanced by the United States previous to the war.

QUESTIONS

Draw a map and locate upon it the important outposts on the western frontier and the Great Lakes.

On what ground did the governors of some of the New England states refuse to send militia when called upon by the president? Was their position legal? Was it wise?

What portion of the country was anxious to seize Canada? Why?

Why was the control of the Great Lakes essential to success on the northern frontier?

What was the effect of the Battle of Lake Erie (*a*) upon the United States? (*b*) upon Canada?

What would have been the probable effect upon the United States had the expedition against Montreal succeeded?

What would have been the probable effect upon the United States had the British won the battles of Plattsburg and Lake Champlain?

Considering the difference in the forces, how do you account for Jackson's success at New Orleans? Why did the British wish to seize New Orleans?

What is a privateer? What constitutes the difference between a privateer and a pirate? When a privateer is captured, how is the crew treated? Why?

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A detailed critical history of the War of 1812 by Captain A. T. Mahan of the United States Navy was published in *Scribner's Magazine* for 1904 and January, 1905. Another full and interesting account is that of McMaster in the *History of the People of the United States*, vol. iv, pp. 1–279. Shorter accounts will be found in McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, pp. 281–291; Hart's *Formation of the Union*, pp. 203–216 and 218–222; Channing's *Student's History of the United States*, pp. 357–367. Interesting contemporary accounts of the war or of its diplomatic events are given in Hart's *Source Book of American History*, nos. 83–87, inclusive.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Attempted invasion of Canada; cruise of the *Essex*	1812
Capture of the *Detroit* and *Caledonia*	Spring, 1812
Surrender of Michilimackinac to the British,	July, 1812
Engagement between the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere*	Aug. 19, 1812
Surrender of Detroit	Aug., 1812
Battle of Queenstown	Oct. 13, 1812
Battle of the River Raisin	Jan., 1813
Sacking of York (Toronto)	Apr., 1813
Capture of the *Chesapeake* by the *Shannon*	June 1, 1813
Battle of Lake Erie	Sept. 10, 1813

Event	Date
Battle of the Thames	Oct. 5, 1813
Battle of Chrysler's Farm	Nov. 10, 1813
Creek War	1813–1814
Battle of Chippewa	July 4, 1814
Battle of Lundy's Lane	July 25, 1814
Peace negotiated	Aug. and Sept., 1814
Battle of Plattsburg and Lake Champlain,	Sept. 11, 1814
Capture of Washington	Sept. 12, 1814
Attack upon Baltimore	Sept. 18, 1814
Treaty of Ghent signed	Sept. 24, 1814
Jackson's invasion of Florida	Nov., 1814
Battle of New Orleans	Jan. 8, 1815

CHAPTER XII

REORGANIZATION

1812-1816

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—Review the financial and commercial situation from 1789. Determine in what respects the country was helped by the war and in what respects it was injured. Note and explain the effect which the abolition of the Bank of the United States had upon other banks. The introduction of the first protective tariff is one of the most important events in our economic history. Notice the arguments in its favor and those in opposition to it. Find the causes of the sudden revival of trade. Study the causes leading to the Hartford Convention, the principles involved and the results. Compare the feeling which gave rise to this meeting with that exhibited in New England and other parts of the country at the time of the passage of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions and on other similar occasions in our history.

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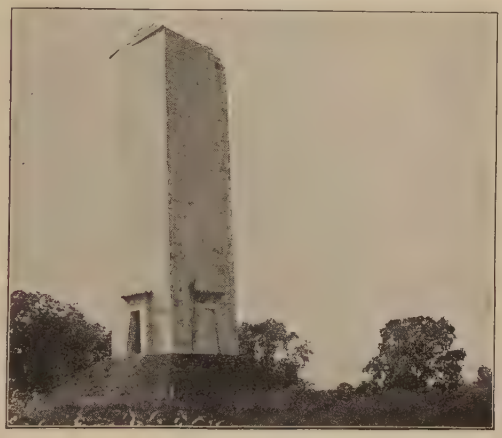
422. Peace.—On February 18, 1815, President Madison issued a proclamation declaring the war at an end, and upon that memorable morning a new era dawned upon the United States. The war had lasted nearly three years, had cost one hundred million dollars and over thirty thousand lives. It had bankrupted the treasury, caused the suspension of specie payments, loaded the people with taxes, ruined their industries and flooded the country with a depreciated currency. Yet the Union was to prove itself strong in resources and recuperative power. The close of the war found the United States a united and happy nation. Her boundaries were

intact, the enemy had retired from her territory, the horrors of war had disappeared and the attention of the people was turned to rebuilding old industries and establishing new ones. While from the distance of nearly a century it seems clear that the War of 1812 resulted rather from diplomatic and political blunders than from the necessities of the case, it taught us the necessity of a strong, well-organized central government and of maintaining an efficient army and navy; it gave us abroad that standing and respect without which national progress was impossible. Considering all of its results, the war was a success and in the light of its results is fully entitled to its name, "The Second War for Independence."



UNFINISHED MONUMENT TO GENERAL JACKSON, NEW ORLEANS
Marking the left of the American line during the battle of January 8, 1815.

423. Economic Conditions and Changes.—1. POPULATION.—In 1815 the population of the United States was about eight and one-half millions. Immigration had

begun. Between ten and twenty thousand foreigners had already found homes within our borders, and from this time on the number of arrivals increased yearly until the opening of the Civil War.

The most remarkable effect of the war upon the people of the country was the great movement from the New England and Northern states to the West and Southwest, owing to the decline of industries incident upon the war. The opportunity of obtaining government land at low prices served as an attraction to the new country, and so extensive was the immigration thither that in six years following the conclusion of peace, a new state was admitted to the Union each year. The settlement of this western territory gave rise to a much larger inland commerce, which was of great advantage to the commercial and manufacturing interests of the older states. It was also one of the agencies leading to the sudden revival of commerce following the close of the war.

2. Manufactures.—The closing of our ports to foreign trade deprived the markets of the country of many manufactured commodities that were in common use. Chief among these were cotton and woolen goods and many articles of iron and steel manufactured in England. The war created a favorable opportunity for beginning the manufacture of these articles in the United States. In New England much of the capital that had heretofore been employed in the carrying trade was invested in factories. In 1814 the first power loom in the country

was set in operation at Waltham, Mass., where Francis C. Lowell and others had erected the first completely equipped cotton mill in the world. This mill formed the beginning of those great factory systems soon after established at Lowell, Lawrence and Fall River. The iron industry was also stimulated by the demand for arms and armament, as well as by the exclusion of British wares.

BATTLEFIELD, NEW ORLEANS
Spot where General Pakenham died.

3. Commerce. —As the war progressed, the blockade became more and more effective, until all ports south of Cape Cod were completely closed to both foreign and coastwise trade. However, Yankee ingenuity set about finding some means of transportation between the most important commercial centers, and lines of freight wagons were soon established. The wagons were covered with canvas and hauled by horses or oxen. The first attempts proved so successful that the system finally extended from Boston to Baltimore, Savannah and Augusta. During the summer months the roads were filled with

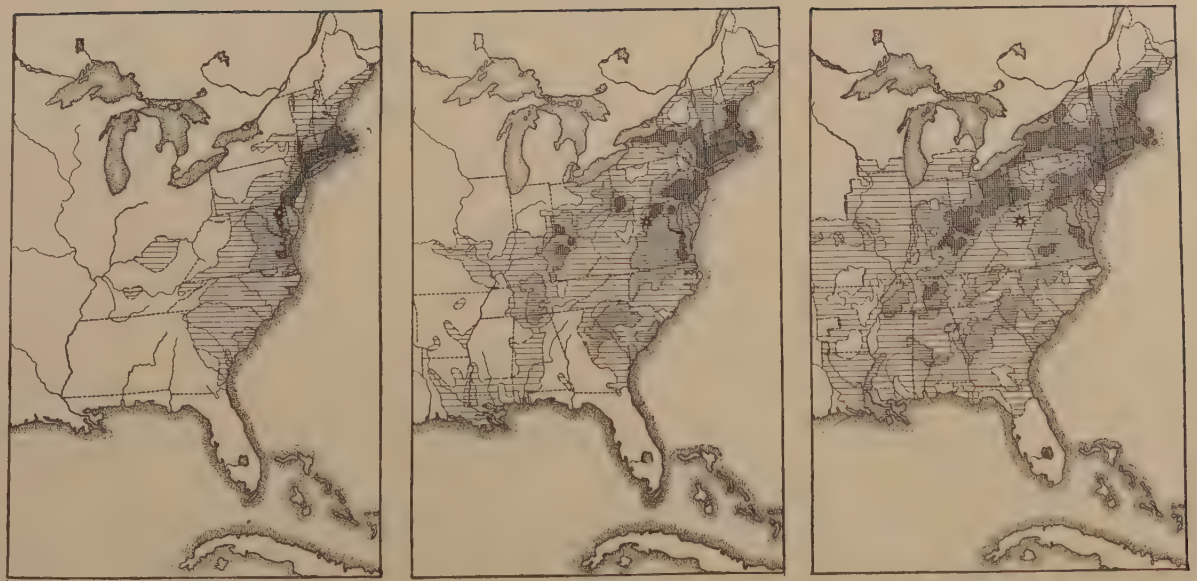
these wagons, and at New York, Philadelphia and other places, where ferries must be used, they often gathered in such numbers as to obstruct the streets. During the summer months the trip from Boston to Baltimore required twenty-six days, and from Baltimore to Richmond ten days. The wagons were named and registered and each driver carried a bill of lading. Their arrival and departure at certain stations was recorded and often published in the weekly papers, so that they could be accounted for at any point on their trip.

Though large quantities of goods were transported by these wagons, the supply thus provided was not sufficient to prevent war prices. Speculators and other capitalists bought tea, coffee, sugar and other necessaries of life in such quantities as to enable them to control the market; then they raised prices so that these articles were beyond the reach of all but the wealthy. In December, 1813, a second embargo went into effect, and this still further advanced the prices on imported goods. Sugar sold at fifty cents a pound; the best qualities of tea brought four dollars a pound by the chest, and in Annapolis salt was five dollars a bushel. Against these conditions people entered vigorous and just complaints.

The illicit traffic mentioned in Section 400 was not the only trade carried on with the enemy. When the blockade was first established along the coast, the New England ports north of Cape Cod were left compara-

tively free, and many British ships disguised as neutrals were allowed to enter these ports, discharge their cargoes and reload for their homeward voyage. Under existing conditions, this traffic was exceedingly profitable and it naturally aroused the jealousy of Philadelphia, Baltimore and other cities to the south, all of whose ports were closed by the blockade. Representatives of this section induced the president to lay another embargo. In his message he explained that he recommended this measure in order that all traffic which would in any way aid the British might be stopped. The restrictions were so inclusive as to prevent any vessels leaving or entering ports, except ships that were sailing under the flag and manned by the subjects of foreign powers friendly to the United States. The embargo was aimed directly at the New England states, and was largely the result of jealousy. Madison's claims deceived no one. It is needless to say that the measure caused hardship and suffering and intensified the ill feeling already existing in New England.

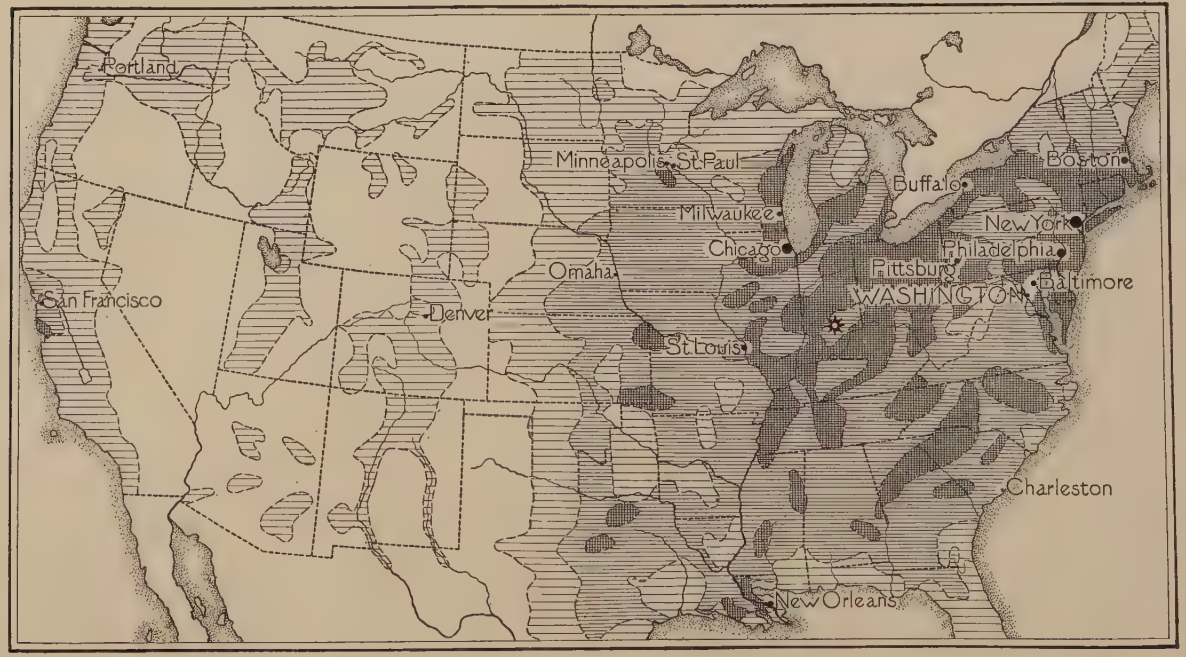
The objections to the embargo became so strenuous and widespread that, together with the Non-Intercourse Act, it was repealed the following April. Thus ended the attempts of the national government to control foreign relations by restricting commerce at the cost of crippling the industries of the country. Each experiment of this sort had ended in signal failure, and the resulting experience was so bitter that no succeeding



1790 1820 1840

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Heavy shading indicates population of over 45 to the square mile; medium shading, over 18 to the square mile; light shading, over 2 to the square mile. The star indicates center of population. [From Twelfth Census.]



1900

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN UNITED STATES

For explanation see opposite page. Black dots indicate relative size of principal cities. [From Twelfth Census.]

administration has dared to entertain the thought of embargoes or non-intercourse acts.

4. Finance.—*Loans and Currency.*—When war was declared, the annual revenue was about nine million dollars; Gallatin's report at the beginning of 1813 estimated the expenses of the year at thirty-two millions, and the receipts at about twelve millions, leaving twenty millions for which provision must be made. The president was authorized by Congress to borrow sixteen million dollars on the best terms of discount and interest that he could secure. It was also arranged to issue ten millions in treasury notes, with the provision that if this amount was issued, one-half of it should be applied to the loan, which would thereby be reduced to eleven millions. It was hoped that the new loan would prove popular, but when the books were closed only about one-fourth of the amount had been subscribed. The people in New England, where most of the money was held, practically refused to make loans to the government on any terms, and the secretary of the treasury was obliged to call upon large capitalists, who supplied him with funds on their own terms. The volume of United States currency was also increased from time to time, and the capture of Washington was followed by a general suspension of specie payments. A large number of state banks had sprung up and many of these had issued more bills than they had specie to redeem. The

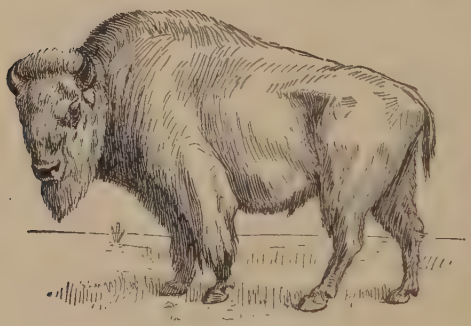
money situation at the close of the war was fast approaching that which followed the Revolution.

Internal Taxes.—The next year the Republicans, contrary to all their previous theories and doctrines, laid internal taxes more expensive and grievous than had ever been contemplated by the Federalists. This measure was opposed by the Federalists, who had completely exchanged sides with the Republicans on this as well as numerous other questions of public policy.

United States Bank.—When Gallatin was appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate the treaty of peace, his duties as secretary of the treasury were at first discharged by the secretary of the navy, but in a few months George W. Campbell was appointed secretary of the treasury. Campbell was incompetent, and resigned after making his first report. He was succeeded by Alexander Dallas, who promptly submitted a plan which called for the establishing of a United States Bank, with a capital of fifty million dollars, on much the same plan as the bank established by Hamilton. After a prolonged discussion, during which several plans were presented, the measure failed to pass, largely because peace had been restored.

But the restoration of peace did not improve the condition of the currency. The specie had all been collected into the vaults of the banks or sent abroad, and small coin with which to make change could not be

obtained. Small bills were also scarce. In order to escape the inconvenience caused by these conditions, many corporations and even individuals in business issued notes of their own, and in some localities these notes constituted a large proportion of the currency. The circulation of such notes gave a great opportunity for counterfeiters to ply their trade, and thousands of counterfeit bills were placed in circulation. Bills were even issued on banks that never existed, and were placed in circulation in the large cities at a distance from the towns in which the pretended banks claimed to be located.



AN AMERICAN BUFFALO

These worthless bills, added to the confusing conditions surrounding the regular currency, constantly hindered all lines of business. Consequently, Madison, in his message to Congress in December, 1815, recommended the establishment of a United States Bank. In accordance with this recommendation, a bill was prepared, providing for such a bank on the plan outlined by Dallas. It was to have a capital of thirty-five million dollars, seven millions to be subscribed by the United States, and was to continue

twenty years. The central bank was to be located at Philadelphia and it was authorized to establish branches in all the states and was to receive all deposits of United States funds. The bill passed both houses of Congress with but little opposition, and in April, 1816, it became a law. The following year specie payments were generally resumed and the financial stringency caused by the war was removed.

The Tariff.—The tariff laid at the organization of the government was for the purpose of revenue, but indirectly it was protective, for it increased the price of imported goods. During the War of 1812, the duties had been doubled in order to increase the revenue. The war had also brought upon the country a state of economic conditions different from any that had before existed. Manufactures had been stimulated, and millions of dollars were invested in factories, all of which, at the conclusion of peace, were doing a profitable business. As soon as restrictions upon our foreign trade were removed, the accumulated stock of English manufactures was poured into the country. In 1814 our imports amounted to twelve million dollars. In 1815 they amounted to one hundred six millions. These imports were out of proportion to the needs of the country. Besides, goods were sold at a price below what it cost to produce them in the United States, and a number of American factories were therefore obliged to close.

The inhabitants of New England were anxious to

keep their factories in operation; the people in the West wanted a steady market for their farm produce, and the South had been impressed with the importance of a permanent home market for its cotton; therefore, in 1816, these interests combined and laid the first protective tariff. The approval of Congress was the more easily secured since the imposition of the proposed tariff would be compensated for by the abolition of the extraordinary war duties. Hence, prices would be only slightly affected, if at all. The bill was opposed by John Randolph from Virginia and Daniel Webster from Massachusetts, and advocated by Clay and Calhoun.

Some representatives from every state except Delaware and North Carolina voted for the bill, but strong opponents were found, both from the South and from New England. In the former section manufacturing had gained no foothold, and the importance of protecting and conserving this industry even at the expense of a slight increase in the cost of manufactured commodities did not appeal to the planters. In New England there was hope of a revival in the shipping industry at the close of the war, and the proposed tariff, whose purpose was to make the nation self-supporting, was thought to be a blow at New England shipping. The act imposed a duty of twenty-five per cent upon cotton and woolen goods, with the provision that no duty was to be less than six and one-fourth cents a square yard, and that no *ad valorem* duty should exceed thirty per cent With

slight modifications the act remained in force until 1824, when a new tariff increased the duties on iron, lead and some other metals, and on such agricultural products as wool and hemp, but left the duties on cotton and woolen goods practically as fixed by the tariff of 1816.

424. Political Changes. — 1. Opposition.—The war began in the face of strong opposition, and with the councils of the nation divided. At the election in 1812, Madison received one hundred twenty-eight votes, and Clinton eighty-nine. The strength of the opposition was such as would seemingly have caused the majority in Congress to consider well the consequences before taking the final step, but instead, they hastened a declaration of war. The declaration of war did not unite the administration and its opponents in the common cause against Great Britain, but rather widened the breach between the two parties. The New England states, in which the opposition was strongest, suffered great losses in the destruction of their carrying trade by the actual and threatened invasion of their territory. For nearly two years one hundred miles of the coast of Maine was under the control of the enemy, and the projected expedition through the Champlain valley caused the inhabitants of that locality the greatest anxiety.

As the war progressed the government became less and less able to control the conditions with which it was surrounded, and the seaports and frontier towns

were left to defend themselves as best they could. Alarmed at this condition, a number of states showed their lack of confidence in the government by making provision to raise state armies for their own defense. In the months immediately following the capture of Washington, the government was on the verge of ruin. The treasury was bankrupt, and volunteers could not be obtained to recruit the army. In the midst of these difficulties the House passed a conscription act, providing for the enlistment of minors, and thereby brought upon the government the maledictions of thousands, regardless of party. As the opposition strengthened, it is not surprising that there should be threats of secession from the Union. In all parts of the country there were open expressions of disloyalty to the national government.

2. The Hartford Convention.—In New England these views led to a concerted action through the Hartford Convention. When the British seized the coasts of Maine, the governor of Massachusetts called a special session of the legislature and recommended that suitable measures be taken for the defense of the state. In reviewing the situation, the state senate emphasized the fact that the state had been placed in its present condition against the will of its citizens and in the face of a full warning to the national government as to the consequences of war with Great Britain. The report then declared that the Constitution should have several

amendments, and recommended a convention of delegates from all the New England states, to be called for the purpose of placing such amendments before Congress. It was explained that this step was taken because the senate felt that such a proposition coming from one state alone would not be successful.

Following this report, a resolution calling for a convention to meet in Hartford on December 15 passed both

EARLY AMERICAN STAGE COACH

houses. A small but active minority entered vigorous objection to the measure, claiming that it was unpatriotic, tended to harass the administration and was a step that might lead to civil war. To this convention Massachusetts sent twelve delegates, Connecticut seven, and Rhode Island four. Both the Connecticut and Rhode Island delegates were so instructed as to limit them to acts strictly constitutional. Vermont refused to comply with the request, and New Hampshire was prevented from so doing by the action of its council,

but three counties of that state sent each a delegate by popular vote. The convention met December 15, 1814, and chose George Cabot of Massachusetts, chairman. After completing their organization, the delegates sat three weeks with closed doors. This unwise proceeding aroused the suspicion of the country, and the Republican press cast upon the convention and the Federalists in general the obloquy of treason and secession. However, the report issued on adjournment showed these accusations to be unwarranted.

The question of immediate secession was summarily dismissed, but the convention admitted that conditions might come to pass which would render peaceful separation justifiable. Four recommendations were made to the states: (1) That Congress be asked to permit the states to raise armies for their own defense, and that a portion of the Federal taxes collected in each state be set apart towards defraying the expense; (2) that such armies be raised; (3) that seven amendments specified be added to the Constitution; (4) that if peace was not concluded or the New England states were not defended by the Federal government, or given permission to defend themselves, a second convention should be called in Boston, June 15.

Delegates were appointed to present these recommendations to Congress, but the news of peace reached Washington before their arrival, and they never reported.

The convention was the death-blow to the Federalist

party. Justly or unjustly, participation in the meeting branded the men concerned in it with treasonable intent. In the presidential election of 1816, the Federalists cast but thirty-four electoral votes, and after this they disappeared from national politics.

3. Party Changes.—While the Hartford Convention was the distinct act that hastened the dissolution of the Federalists, the absorption of the party by the Republicans began before the declaration of war and went forward rapidly during Madison's second term. The elections to the Twelfth Congress ushered in a new era for the Republicans, and many who were returned at that time held views similar to those advanced by Washington and Hamilton. The Federalists stood for a national government with adequate powers to control national affairs and maintain the nation's dignity, and in the exercise of these powers they believed that the government had the right to establish such measures as were necessary for carrying them into effect. Towards this belief Jefferson began to incline soon after his inauguration, and in the purchase of Louisiana he accepted it.

The measures of taxation, embargo and non-intercourse imposed upon the country by the Republicans went even farther in extending the power of the Federal government than any proposed by Washington or Hamilton. In the administration of the government the principles of the Federalists were found to be sound, safe and practical; therefore, they were gradually adopted.

The Federalist party did not die; it was absorbed by its rival, in whom its principles continued to live, though somewhat modified by the democratic principles upon which that rival was established. In his first inaugural address, Jefferson said, "We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists." In fourteen years this statement had become literally true.

425. Foreign Relations.—Previous to 1812 the United States was held in contempt by the stronger European nations, and barely respected by the weaker. As long as France and Great Britain saw an opportunity to play her off against each other in their struggle for the mastery of Europe, the American nation was unable to secure influence, or even recognition, abroad. In the space of three years all this was changed. The brilliant successes of the American navy won the admiration of the world and gained for the United States the respect which she might not otherwise have won in a century.

A more careful study of the principles for which we contended also led to their acceptance, and this was as great a triumph for our judiciary and diplomats as were our successes upon the sea for the navy. The war freed us from the entanglements of European politics; no nation has since attempted to make use of the United States as an agent for overthrowing a rival power, and since 1815 American ships have been free to rove the sea at will.

QUESTIONS

Was the country embarrassed by the national debt at the conclusion of the war? Why?

Had the United States Bank been rechartered in 1811, would it have prevented the conditions into which the country had fallen in 1815? What are your reasons for thinking as you do?

Why did all the embargoes fail? Ought Congress to have foreseen this failure?

Did the Hartford Convention have treasonable tendencies?

What Federalist principles were adopted by the Republicans?

Why was most of the capital invested in factories taken from the carrying trade?

How did the Tariff of 1816 differ from that laid by Hamilton? Was any new principle involved? On what grounds was the tariff opposed by Webster and others? Why were all sections united in demanding a tariff?

REFERENCES

A complete discussion of the condition of the country at the close of the War of 1812 and the economic and political changes of the time is given in McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, chs. xxviii–xxx. Much briefer accounts will be found in McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, pp. 291–294; Hart's *Formation of the Union*, pp. 223–231; Channing's *Student's History of the United States*, pp. 367–371; Johnston's *American Politics*, pp. 77–87.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Reëlection of Madison	1812
Government receives popular loan	1813
Second Embargo Act passed	Dec., 1813
Excise tax levied; repeal of Non-Intercourse and Embargo acts; first power loom in the United States	1814
Hartford Convention assembled	Dec. 15, 1814
First protective tariff	1816
Second United States Bank chartered	Apr., 1816

CHAPTER XIII

NATIONAL GROWTH

1815-1828

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—The period covered by this chapter was eventful, though not dramatic, and will well repay thoughtful study. The decisions of the Supreme Court during Monroe's administration established principles of great importance in the history of the country, and the cases leading to these decisions deserve careful attention. The student should acquaint himself fully with the conditions giving rise to the so-called "Monroe Doctrine," and should understand its principles. It is one of the landmarks in our diplomatic history.

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426. Monroe Elected.—Early in 1816, Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins of New York received the nominations of the Congressional caucus[1] for president and vice-president. Monroe was Madison's choice, but the Northern Republicans were opposed to another president from Virginia and advocated Tompkins. The South, however, would not agree to this, and William H. Crawford was placed in nomination in Tompkins's stead. The caucus was called in an irregular manner,

[1] The Congressional caucus for nominating candidates for the presidency originated in 1800, when some of the Republican members of Congress met to organize an active campaign in favor of Thomas Jefferson as a candidate to succeed John Adams in the presidency. A secret meeting of Republican Congressmen assembled the same year to recommend Aaron Burr as a candidate for vice-president. In 1804 a larger and more representative meeting of Republican members of Congress unanimously nominated Thomas Jefferson for president and George Clinton for vice-president. The practice was continued; Madison and Clinton were nominated in this way in 1808, and in 1812 the method was adopted by both parties in Congress.

and thus brought upon it the severe criticism of the press. There was also a just and growing opposition to this method of selecting presidential candidates. The opposition raised at this time continued, and at the next election a more representative method of nominating the president was adopted.

At the election Monroe and Tompkins received one hundred eighty-three votes, and Rufus King, the Federalist candidate, thirty-four. At the second election (1821), only one vote was cast against Monroe, and with the exception of Washington, no other president has received so large a proportion of the electoral votes. Monroe was a close friend of Jefferson and Madison, and one of the oldest members of the Republican party. However, at this time he had changed his views concerning many of the principles upon which that party was founded, and at his election was in full accord with the younger and more aggressive members. In his inaugural he repudiated, either directly or by implication, every principle of the old Republican party, adopting in their stead the Federal doctrines which had been accepted by such leaders as Clay and Calhoun. He gathered about him the strongest cabinet since Washington. John Quincy Adams was appointed secretary of state; William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury; John C. Calhoun, secretary of war, and William Wirt, attorney general. These men were young, vigorous and noted for their ability.

Profiting by the bitter experience of the war, Congress made preparations for fortifying the seaports and other outstanding posts and left the responsibility of constructing the works largely to the president. In the May following his inauguration, Monroe made an extended tour through the northern part of the country. He went along the Atlantic seaboard as far as Portland,

A SEMINOLE VILLAGE

then westward across New Hampshire and Vermont to Lake Ontario, thence along the Lakes as far as Detroit, returning by the way of Pittsburg. He was everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm, and his journey served to emphasize the fact, already apparent, that all political strife was for a time allayed. Two years later he made a similar tour through the South, with equally good effect.

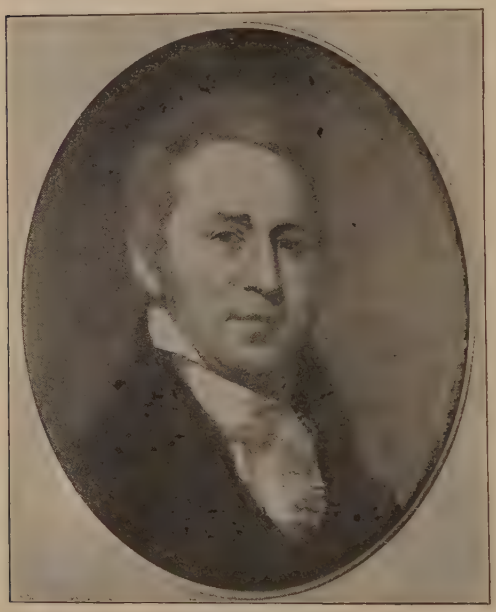
427. Extension of Territory.—1. FLORIDA.—When Jackson concluded the treaty with the Creeks in 1814,

they ceded a large tract of land in Georgia and Alabama to the United States. A number of the Indians were dissatisfied with the treaty and fled to Florida, where they joined with the Seminole and became allies of the English during the latter part of the War of 1812. These Indians were incited to hostility by British officers, who led them to believe that on the conclusion of peace Great Britain would see that their lands were restored, and when a treaty containing no reference to their claims was ratified they were incensed against both Great Britain and the United States. The Creeks and Seminole were joined by a large number of free negroes and outlaws.

In 1815 the British officers departed from the territory, leaving in a fort on the Apalachicola a large quantity of gunpowder and some twenty-five hundred stands of arms. The negroes, more than a thousand of whom were now in the territory, gained possession of this fort and held it as a center from which all sorts of predatory expeditions proceeded. Jackson was at this time commander of the District of the South, and he ordered the United States troops to gain possession of the fort. A small land force and two gunboats appeared before the works. The commander, finding that they were too strong to be carried by assault, fired a redhot shot into the magazine and blew up the fort.

The destruction of the fort put an end to negro power, but the Seminole were far from pacified and continued

a border warfare. Jackson learned that they were still incited to hostilities by subjects of Great Britain and Spain, and decided that it would be necessary for the United States to seize all of Florida and hold it as a means of securing tranquillity upon that portion of the frontier, and of inducing Spain to establish authority over the territory. He organized an expedition, routed the Indians, followed them into Florida, captured Pensacola and seized two British subjects, whom he hanged on what he claimed was evidence showing that they had incited the Indians to insurrection.



WILLIAM CLARK
[From a painting by Charles Wilson Peale, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

In these summary proceedings, Jackson exceeded his authority and almost involved the United States in a war with both Great Britain and Spain. The government immediately disavowed his acts and

restored the captured forts. Calhoun wanted Jackson court-martialed, but Adams, who was the best-trained and most skilled diplomat that had up to that time occupied the position of secretary of state, defended Jackson's acts in a very skillful argument, and he escaped censure.

Jackson's expedition, however, was not without its favorable results. Through it Spain was led to see that unless she was able to establish a firm government in Florida, the United States would be compelled to seize and hold the territory in order to prevent a continuous border warfare; therefore, in 1819, she agreed to sell all of Florida to the United States for about six and one-half million dollars. This same treaty fixed the western boundary of Louisiana as follows: Along the Sabine River and present western boundary of the State of Louisiana to the Red River, up this river to the meridian of 100°, along this meridian to the Arkansas, thence along this river to about the one-hundred-seventh meridian, northward along this line to the forty-second parallel and along this parallel westward to the Pacific coast. This treaty, negotiated by Adams, officially recognized our claim to the Oregon territory, but it did not dispose of the British title and in fact was not strongly pressed as support to our claim. Still it was an important diplomatic triumph for the United States,[1] and

[1] In Mr. Adams's diary, the following comment upon this treaty appears: "It was perhaps the most important day of my life. What the consequences may be of the compact this day signed with Spain, is known to the All-Wise

afforded relief from many petty but annoying difficulties with European powers.

2. Oregon.—Another treaty of importance was that negotiated with Great Britain. In this the conflicting claims concerning the fisheries opposite the Grand Banks of Newfoundland were adjusted, and the boundary

GREAT DALLES OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

between the United States and British America was fixed from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, as it now stands. Beyond the mountains, the

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and All-Beneficent Disposer of events, Who has brought it about in a manner unexpected, and by means the most extraordinary and unforeseen. * * * Let no idle and unfounded exultation take place in my mind, as if I could ascribe to my own foresight or exertions any portion of the event. It is the work of an intelligent and all-embracing Cause."

territory was in dispute, each country laying claim to what was then known as Oregon. The Oregon coast was first visited by Drake late in the sixteenth century and the Columbia was discovered and explored by Robert Gray, of Boston, in 1792. The United States claimed the country by reason of exploration and commercial enterprise which had been begun there. The Lewis and Clark expedition made the region known to the United States, and soon after their return, Clark and others organized at Saint Louis the Missouri Fur Company, for the specific purpose of occupying the country and trading with the Indians.

The Missouri Company failed, but the Pacific Fur Company, organized by John Jacob Astor of New York, built Astoria in 1811 and was in a fair way to succeed when the war broke out. During the war, the Americans at Astoria were frightened into selling out to the British Northwest Fur Company, but at the Treaty of Ghent this transaction was not known and after peace was concluded the United States again took possession of Astoria. The American commissioners claimed the territory as far north as parallel fifty-four degrees and forty minutes, or to the Russian possessions, and the British commissioners claimed it to the forty-second parallel. As no dividing line could be fixed, the commissioners agreed to a joint occupation for ten years, an arrangement that was continued until 1846, when the present boundary was established (Section 472).

428. Judicial Decisions.—Between 1812 and 1824 the Supreme Court rendered a number of constitutional decisions of great national importance, since they placed on record as legal precedent the doctrine of implied powers, and established the legislative and judicial prerogatives of the state and national governments. The first of these decisions asserted the right of the Supreme Court to take cases on appeal from state courts and thus to make itself the final tribunal in constitutional questions. The second involved the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States and the rights of branches of this bank in their relation to laws of the states in which they were established. The state banks were jealous of the branches of the Bank of the United States, since, wherever established, they became powerful business rivals.

Maryland laid a tax upon all banks and branches of banks doing business within the state. The tax was to be paid by compelling the banks to issue their bills upon stamped paper, which was to be purchased of the state treasurer. The branch of the Bank of the United States at Baltimore refused to comply with this requirement, and when, after the law went into effect, the cashier paid out bills not printed on stamped paper, he was sued in the Baltimore county court. The local court decided against the Bank. The case was carried to the Maryland Court of Claims, from which it went to the Supreme Court of the United States. Chief Justice Marshall sustained the Bank and established by his

decision the right of Congress to found such a bank and to exercise over it exclusive control. He also stated that the Bank had power to establish branches in states without their consent and that the states had no authority to tax these branches. A similar case occurred in Ohio and was decided in a similar manner. While the decisions of these cases applied particularly to the Bank of the United States, the principle established was that the power of state legislatures and state courts could not extend to institutions established or laws passed by the national government when acting under powers granted by the United States Constitution.

The third decision was what has become celebrated as the Dartmouth College case. Dartmouth College was established by a charter granted under the colonial system, and the funds provided for the institution were largely subscribed in England. This charter created a perpetual board of trustees and specified their duties. In 1818 the legislature of New Hampshire created a new board of trustees and reorganized the college as Dartmouth University. Under this act the new board attempted to dispossess the original trustees of the property and charter. The state court sustained the new board, but the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, where it was argued on behalf of the college by Daniel Webster. The decision reversed that of the state court and sustained the original trustees. The Supreme Court in this decision firmly

established the principle laid down in the Constitution —that a state legislature cannot enact laws which violate contracts in existence at the time such laws are enacted.[1]

429. Admission of States.—During no other equal period of time have so many states been added to the Union as between 1816 and 1821. Of the states admitted, Indiana and Illinois were from the Northwest Territory; Alabama and Mississippi came from the Territory of Mississippi; Maine had existed as a district of Massachusetts, and Missouri was a part of the Louisiana Purchase.[2] Previous to the admission of Missouri, the Territory of Arkansas was formed, including the present state and also Indian Territory. The number of states was now twenty-four, of which two were beyond the Mississippi. The territorial government in that region was also more thoroughly organized, and each year the great West was becoming more attractive to settlers.

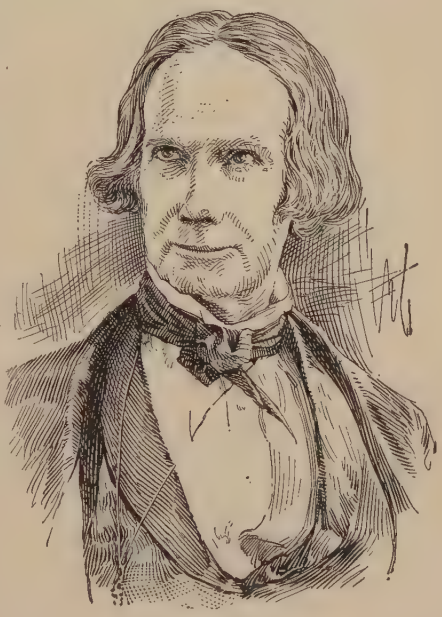
430. The Missouri Compromise.—The admission of Missouri brought the question of slavery before Congress more forcibly than any previous event had done, though it had already been the cause of several spirited discussions.[3] It had so happened that new states had been admitted alternately from the North and from

[1] United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 10, Clause 1.

[2] Indiana was admitted in 1816; Mississippi, in 1817; Illinois, in 1818; Alabama, in 1819; Maine, in 1820; Missouri, in 1821. The history of most of these states is well told in their respective volumes in the American Commonwealths series.

[3] For an account of slavery, see Chapter XX.

the South, and after 1812 the balance between the slave and the free states had thus been kept even. At the outset, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Delaware were slave states; New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire were free states. Soon Vermont was admitted from the North, but Kentucky followed from the South. Tennessee was followed by Ohio. The admission of Louisiana in 1812 gave the South an equal number of states with the North. Then Indiana was admitted, and immediately afterward, Mississippi; Illinois was followed by Alabama, and there were then eleven free and eleven slave states.



HENRY CLAY

Maine and Missouri applied for admission at about the same time, and the application of Missouri raised the question of the extension of slave territory

beyond the Mississippi. Were both admitted as free states, the slave states would have a minority in the Senate; but were Missouri admitted as a slave state and Maine as a free state, the number of slave and free states would still be equal. In 1818 Missouri, through her legislature, made application for admission. When the bill permitting her to form a constitution came before the committee in the House, James Talmage, Jr., of Illinois, moved the following amendment:

"Provided that the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited except for the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and that all children born within the said state after the admission thereof into the Union shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years."

This motion caused confusion among the committee, and serious objections were raised against it, nearly all of which were on the ground that the proposed amendment was unconstitutional, the objectors claiming that it imposed upon Missouri restrictions which had not been imposed upon other states, and which Congress had no right to authorize. But, regardless of these objections, the amendment was adopted by the committee, and the bill as amended passed the House by a vote of ninety-seven to fifty-six, six of the negative votes coming from states north of the Ohio. The Senate passed the bill without the amendment, and returned it to the House for concurrence, but the House, by a majority of two, refused to concur, and returned the bill to the Senate.

It was now near the close of the session, and the bill was lost for the want of agreement.

Meantime, the bill for organizing the Territory of Arkansas had come before the House, and an amendment similar to that offered by Talmage to the Missouri bill, was proposed. The same ground was again covered in discussion, and the same arguments, pro and con, were advanced. On the final vote the amendment was lost by a small majority, and Arkansas was organized as a slave-holding territory. However, the narrow majority by which the bill was saved alarmed the pro-slavery members of Congress and the people of the slave-holding states. The power of the Southern states in Congress also aroused the people of the free states, who supposed that the question of slavery was settled and that no attempt would be made to extend slave territory.

The struggle between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties for supremacy in Congress now began. On December 31, 1819, Maine made application for admission to the Union. When the enabling act came before the House, Clay, in a long and bitter speech, opposed the bill, principally on the ground that Maine should not be admitted as long as there was any obstruction to the admission of Missouri; but the bill to admit Maine passed the House. The Senate amended it by attaching the Missouri bill. The combined bill was then debated for over three weeks, and finally passed with an amendment offered by Senator Thomas, of

Illinois, to the effect that Missouri be admitted as a slave state, but that slavery be thereafter excluded from all territory secured from France in the Louisiana Purchase, north of 36° 30′. In the House, the bill was again separated, and before an agreement could be reached, both measures were referred to a conference committee. This committee recommended that the bills be acted upon separately; that the House should give up its opposition to the admission of Missouri as a slave state, and that the Senate bill, with the Thomas amendment, should be passed. These recommendations were concurred in by both branches of Congress, and the bills passed by a small majority.

Missouri then framed a constitution which excluded free negroes from the state. When this constitution was submitted to Congress for approval, it led to another bitter struggle, which lasted to nearly the close of Congress, when Clay brought about a compromise, by which Missouri was to agree not to deprive of his rights any citizen of another state. These compromise measures for the time being allayed the discussion of the slavery question in Congress, but the agitation was continued by the people of both North and South, and served to further antagonize the two sections. The compromises settled nothing permanently; they simply postponed the settlement of a vital issue to a later date.

431. The Monroe Doctrine.—At the organization of the government, with the exception of Brazil and a few

small colonies, all the American continent south of the United States was under Spanish rule. When Napoleon usurped the throne of Spain, the Spanish colonies of South America refused to acknowledge the authority of the new régime, and established independent governments largely on the plan of that of the United States. As long as the war between France and England continued, Spain was not in condition to interfere with these governments, and soon after the purchase of Florida the United States acknowledged their independence. The Russians had succeeded in gaining a foothold in what is now Alaska, and in 1821 the Czar issued a *ukase* forbidding all foreigners to trade on the Pacific coast south of the fifty-first parallel or to approach within one hundred miles of the shore.

In 1823 the king of Spain used his influence to induce the European powers which had combined to form the Holy Alliance, to put down the revolution in the South American colonies, on the ground that it was dangerous to the hereditary interests of monarchical government. The same year, the British government, through the American minister in London, suggested that Great Britain and the United States join in resisting any interference by the Holy Alliance in South American affairs. The American minister replied that before such a step was taken by the United States, it would be necessary for Great Britain to acknowledge the independence of the South American countries. This, however, Great Britain

thought not wise at that time, owing to her relations to the Holy Alliance; but the negotiation assured the United States that she would have the support of Great Britain in any action that she might take to prevent European interference with South America.

John Quincy Adams, the secretary of state, induced the president to discuss these conditions in his message to Congress in December, 1823, and by the policy which he declared at that time, Monroe is now more widely known than by all his other official acts. This policy clearly set forth the position of the United States in reference to foreign intervention upon the American continent, and has ever since been known as the Monroe Doctrine, though President Monroe was not the originator of it. The policy contains two formal declarations:

(1) "That the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

(2) "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. . . . It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference."

Briefly stated, this doctrine means that the United States believes that America is for Americans, and that we will not allow any European power to acquire territory or to overthrow existing independent governments upon American soil.

JAMES MONROE

The first act of the national government leading to the enunciation of this principle was the Neutrality Proclamation of 1793 (Section 342). Again, in his Farewell Address Washington referred to it in these words: "If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not likely hazard giving us

provocation." Jefferson and Madison were also strong advocates of the policy set forth by Monroe, but during their administrations the occasion for its formal declaration did not arise.

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
Erected on Breed's Hill, Charlestown, near the spot where General Warren fell in the battle of June 17, 1775.[1]

In view of its influence upon international affairs, the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine was undoubtedly the most important episode of President Monroe's entire administration. While this policy has frequently been called in question in diplomatic correspondence, it has never been violated by force but once. After the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine, the proposed Congress of European nations for regulating South American affairs was abandoned, and Russia immediately receded from

[1] At the laying of the corner stone in 1825, Webster delivered one of his most famous addresses. Lafayette was also present. At the dedication in 1843, Webster again delivered the principal address.

The monument is of Quincy granite. It is two hundred twenty-one feet high and thirty-one feet square at the base. A winding stairway leads to a small platform near the top, from which there is a magnificent view of the surrounding country.

her attitude on the Pacific coast. The stand taken by Monroe gave the United States increased influence and dignity abroad, and American securities immediately rose in all the markets of Europe.

432. Lafayette and Bunker Hill.—Two events occurred in 1825 which were of especial interest, serving

INDEPENDENCE CHAMBER

The room in which the Declaration of Independence was signed. In the background are table and chairs used by the officers of Congress. Lafayette was received here in 1824.

as they did to emphasize the progress that the country had made in the half-century of its existence. Marquis de Lafayette, who after the Revolutionary War had endeared himself even more to lovers of liberty by his attitude during the troublous times in France, again visited the United States. He was banqueted and feted throughout the East, in populous cities which fifty years before had scarcely existed save as rough pioneer

country villages. Everywhere his welcome amounted to an ovation.

It was singularly appropriate that to Lafayette should be assigned the honor of laying the corner stone of the monument in commemoration of the Battle of Bunker Hill, the first real battle of the War of Independence. The occasion was made brilliant not only by the presence of many eminent personages, but by the powerful eloquence of Daniel Webster, who, in delivering the principal address, accomplished one of the most important achievements of his career.

433. John Quincy Adams, President.—Monroe's last term was known as the "Era of Good Feeling," since the Federalist party, which had so long furnished lively opposition to the party in power, had completely disappeared and with it the bitter party strife in Congress and throughout the country. Yet, as the time for another presidential election drew near, a number of political factions and candidates appeared. The formidable candidates were William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury; Henry Clay; John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, and Andrew Jackson, who was placed in nomination by the legislature of Tennessee. Jackson developed unexpected strength in the West and South, where his military exploits had made him a hero. This election is of interest as being the first in which nominations were not made by the Congressional caucus but by common consent among the people themselves,

who, for the first time, had a voice in the selection of the candidate as well as in the election of president. The legislature of Kentucky nominated Clay, and he was also nominated by the legislature of Ohio. Before the campaign had really begun, the legislature of South Carolina recommended William Lowndes. Adams was endorsed by a meeting of citizens in Faneuil Hall, Boston, and the New England states united in his support.

LAFAYETTE MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON
Erected in Lafayette Square, Washington, by order of Congress. After models by Falguiere and Mercier.[1]

No candidate received a majority of the electoral votes, and for the second time the election went to the House. Jackson, Adams and Crawford were the three

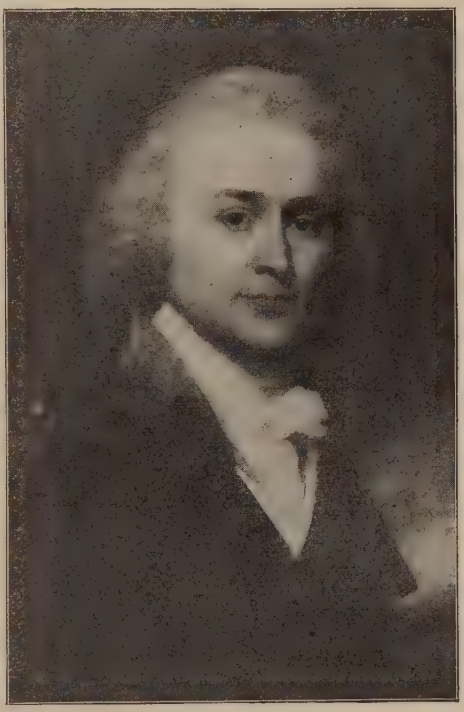
[1] The figure in front is America offering a sword to Lafayette; at the sides are Rochambeau and Dupontail of the French army and D'Estaing and De Grasse of the French navy.

candidates having the highest number of votes, but during the summer Crawford had failed in health, and this practically narrowed the contest to Jackson and Adams. In a great speech some years before, Clay had denounced Jackson for his invasion of Florida, and it was generally known that he was opposed to a military leader for president. He therefore turned the votes that he controlled to Adams, who was by that means elected. Calhoun received one hundred eighty-two electoral votes and was elected vice-president.

By training and experience Mr. Adams was admirably fitted for the position of president. He was the son of John Adams, and had received his education in Harvard College and in Europe. At eleven he accompanied his father to Paris, and at fourteen was one of the secretaries of the embassy at Saint Petersburg. Immediately after completing his college career he entered upon public life, and during most of the time, until appointed secretary of state, was connected with our diplomatic service. This training and experience had given him a thorough acquaintance with the government affairs of Europe and America. Unfortunately, he possessed a haughty and somewhat overbearing manner, which, coupled with his steadfastness of purpose, caused him to make many political enemies.

434. The Cabinet.—Adams came into office perfectly free from obligations or promises. He made Henry Clay secretary of state and retained William Wirt as at-

torney-general. Of the other members of the cabinet, none ever became prominent in national affairs. The appointment of Clay led to one of the greatest trials of Mr. Adams's life. When the friends of Jackson found that they could not induce Clay to lend his support to their candidate, they resolved to ruin his political prospects; therefore they published, through one Kremer, a representative of Pennsylvania, a statement to the effect that Clay had offered to throw the votes under his control for Jackson if Jackson would make him secretary of state. This bargain, the statement claimed, Jackson indignantly refused. Clay then turned to Adams, who accepted his offer. On the assembling of Congress, Clay demanded an investigation. This showed the



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
[From a painting by John S. Copley.]

statement to be entirely false and a part of a political plot to ruin him. Jackson was angry at his defeat and resolved upon vengeance; when Adams did appoint Clay, Jackson's followers took up the charge of a coalition and continued to reiterate it during Adams's entire term.

435. General Prosperity.—Mr. Adams's administration was remarkably free from stirring events. The country was at peace with all nations, and, after a period of depression, there was a general revival of prosperity, due partly to measures instituted by the government and partly to the passing of those conditions which always follow the issuance of an inflated currency. The administration was characterized by the completion of a large number of commercial treaties, numbering more than those of all the preceding administrations together.

A full treasury gave opportunity for the construction of public works, a policy which Adams strongly favored. Public land was granted for the construction of canals in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Harbors were improved, and lighthouses were built. However, it was quite evident that these measures were not generally popular, whatever the need for them.

436. The Tariff of Abominations. — In 1828 came another demand for a revision of the tariff. Owing to a change in England's protective policy, imported woolens became so cheap that American woolen manufacturers

asked for additional protection. A bill increasing the duties upon this class of goods was passed. It also placed high duties on the raw materials of manufactures, such as wool and hemp. The duties were made unreasonably high by the opponents of the protective policy, who hoped thereby to kill the entire system and also to bring its advocates into such disrepute that they would abandon the cause. The injustice wrought by the bill almost led to the success of these efforts and caused the law to be named the "Tariff of Abominations."

437. Election of Jackson.—Jackson began his second campaign as soon as Adams was inaugurated, and his followers at once succeeded in forming an organized opposition to the administration. Once formed, this organization continued to increase in strength until in 1828 its candidate secured a large majority of the electoral votes. When Adams retired from the presidency, he did not retire from public life, although at that time he was sixty-two years of age. In 1831 he took his seat in the House of Representatives for the district of Plymouth, which he continued to represent for sixteen years, until his death. His career in the House was in many respects the most interesting part of his life. His thorough knowledge of public affairs, sterling integrity and independence of character at once made him a leader, and he so impressed himself upon the House as to earn the name, "The Old Man Eloquent." He was one of the ablest and strongest opponents of the

expansion of the slave power, and an advocate of abolition. His is the only instance in our entire history, of an ex-president becoming a member of Congress.

QUESTIONS

Was the opposition to the Congressional caucus justifiable? Why?

Why did Jackson's expedition into Florida almost involve the United States in war with Spain and Great Britain? Was Jackson's defense of hs conduct sound?

Can you recall any instances in which the principles established by the Supreme Court decision mentioned in this chapter have been applied? Why was the Dartmouth College case so important?

Did the free states have good reason for supposing that slavery would not be extended beyond the Mississippi? What are your reasons for so thinking?

Why could not Missouri be admitted on a constitution which excluded free negroes from the state?

Write in your own words a clear and comprehensive statement of the Monroe Doctrine. What is your opinion of the importance of this doctrine? What has been its influence upon our history?

What causes combined to prevent Adams's reëlection?

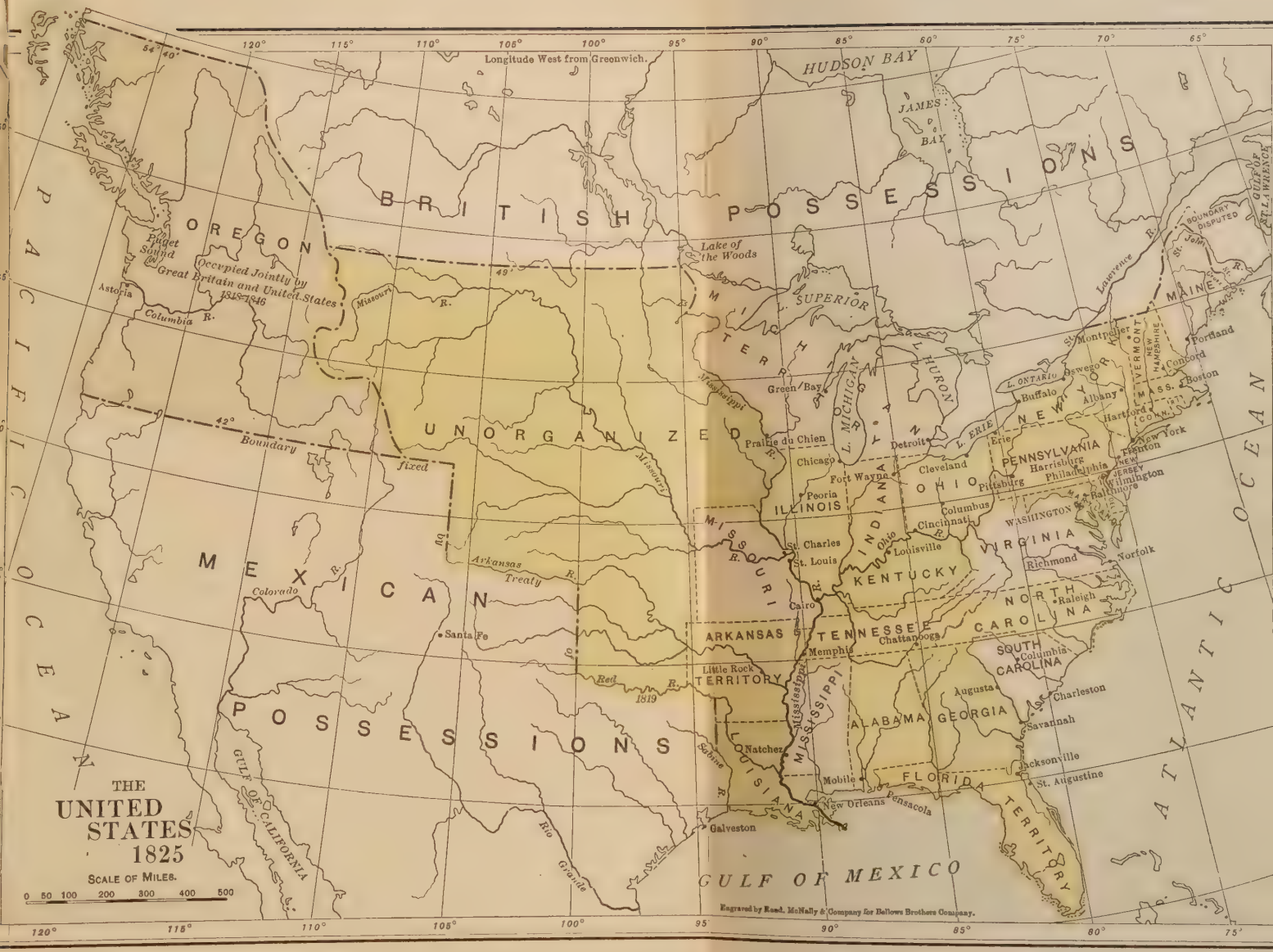
REFERENCES

Satisfactory short discussions of the events of Monroe's and Adams's administrations are given in Hart's *Formation of the Union*, pp. 231–262; Channing's *Student's History of the United States*, pp. 371–396; McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, pp. 296–321. Other accounts will be found in Higginson's *Larger History of the United States*, chs. xvi and xvii, and McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, vol. iv, chs. xxx–xxxix.

Henry Clay's position on the tariff is set forth in Schurz's *Henry Clay*, vol. i, p. 129, and following. For an account of his part in the presidential campaign of 1824, see the same volume, ch. viii.

For opposite views of the Missouri Compromise see Morse's *John Quincy Adams*, pp. 119–122, and Schurz's *Henry Clay*, vol. i, ch. viii.

The Monroe Doctrine is fully explained in Foster's *A Century of American Diplomacy*, ch. xii.


THE UNITED STATES 1825
SCALE OF MILES.
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude West from Greenwich.
HUDSON BAY
JAMES BAY
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
OREGON
Puget Sound
Occupied Jointly by Great Britain and United States 1818-1846
Astoria
Columbia R.
Missouri R.
Lake of the Woods
L. SUPERIOR
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
L. MICHIGAN
L. HURON
L. ERIE
L. ONTARIO
Green Bay
Prairie du Chien
Chicago
Detroit
Fort Wayne
Peoria
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
Cleveland
Erie
Buffalo
Oswego
Albany
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
Pittsburg
Columbus
Cincinnati
Louisville
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Norfolk
WASHINGTON
Baltimore
Wilmington
NEW JERSEY
Trenton
New York
Hartford
CONN.
MASS.
Boston
Concord
Portland
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MAINE
BOUNDARY DISPUTED
St. John R.
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
Lawrence R.
Montpelier
UNORGANIZED
Boundary fixed
Arkansas Treaty
MEXICAN POSSESSIONS
Colorado R.
Santa Fe
Red R. 1819
MISSOURI
St. Charles
St. Louis
Cairo
ARKANSAS TERRITORY
Little Rock
Memphis
TENNESSEE
Chattanooga
NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh
SOUTH CAROLINA
Columbia
Charleston
Augusta
GEORGIA
Savannah
ALABAMA
MISSISSIPPI
Natchez
LOUISIANA
Mobile
New Orleans
Pensacola
FLORIDA TERRITORY
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
Galveston
Sabine R.
Rio Grande
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Engraved by Rand, McNally & Company for Bellows Brothers Company.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Important decisions by the Supreme Court	1812–1824
Seminole War	1815
Monroe elected president; Indiana admitted to the Union	1816
Mississippi admitted	1817
Oregon Treaty with England; Illinois admitted	1818
Annexation of Florida by treaty; Alabama admitted	1819
Maine admitted; Missouri rejected; Missouri Compromise	1820
"Era of Good Feeling"	1820–1824
Missouri admitted	1821
Monroe Doctrine proclaimed	1823
John Quincy Adams elected president	1824
"Tariff of Abominations" passed	1828
Jackson elected president	1828

CHAPTER XIV

OUR FIRST HALF-CENTURY

1776-1826

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—This chapter treats of growth and is in the nature of a review. You should compare each topic with its treatment in previous chapters, particularly Chapters II and V. Also compare with the present conditions of the country, and note the progress that has been made. Note the similarities and differences. Trace, if you can, the influence of these earlier customs on modern life. An account of Stephenson and his invention of the locomotive will be helpful in connection with the study of railroads; also an account of Fulton in connection with the steamboat.

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438. Territory.—During the administration of Adams the United States passed her first semicentennial as an independent nation. The third census showed that her territory had increased from a little over eight hundred thousand square miles to more than two million square miles, or about two and one-half times. The westward movement of the population had been rapid. Of the new states admitted since the organization of the government, nine were from territory that in 1790 was practically a wilderness, and the settlement of this vast interior had created a set of economic conditions and developed a social life hitherto unknown.

439. Population.—The increase in population was about equal to that in territory. From a nation of five and one-third millions in 1790, we had risen to one of

about thirteen millions in 1830. Of this number two millions were slaves, most of whom were in the states south of the Ohio. West of the Mississippi, slavery had obtained a footing in Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri, thereby increasing the antagonism of the free states, in which for a number of years there had been a growing disapproval of the institution.

1. Cities.—The rise of manufactures and growth of commerce had affected social conditions and local institutions. In 1830 there were in the New England and Middle states many thriving manufacturing towns in places that, a few years before, were uninhabited. The most important manufacturing centers were in the southern part of New Hampshire, eastern Massachusetts, Rhode Island and around the cities of New York and Philadelphia.

The growth of the large cities was also an important feature of the period. New York had already received the impetus which gave it first place among American cities, and contained nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants. Philadelphia contained about one hundred twenty-five thousand, and Boston and Baltimore not far from one hundred thousand each. The rapid growth of these cities forced upon them the problem of city government, and between 1820 and 1830 a plan of organization was developed which has since been followed in most American city governments.

Manufacturing also affected the social fabric of cities

and towns. In the factory centers large numbers of working people were brought together, most of whom found lodgings in tenements, and to the cotton and woolen industries the origin of our tenement system is due. Many of these dwellings were poorly constructed, uncomfortable and unhealthful, and the influence of these conditions upon the inmates was far from beneficial.

2. Labor Organizations.—The development of the country had given rise to many new occupations. Blacksmiths, machinists, mill operatives, engineers, bookkeepers, bank clerks and salesmen were in constant demand. Nevertheless, the unskilled laborer had derived but little benefit from the general advancement of the country. Long hours and low wages characterized the conditions of most wage-earners. Unskilled laborers earned from twenty-five to thirty-seven cents a day in winter, and from sixty-two and one-half to eighty-seven and one-half cents in summer. In the winter many men were glad to work for their board. The year round the day's work was from sunrise until sunset. Most of the operatives of the cotton and woolen mills were women and girls, because they could be secured at lower wages than were demanded by men.

Imprisonment for debt had been abolished in some states, but was continued in others. Wages were paid at irregular intervals and often in depreciated currency, which the wage-earner was obliged to accept at its face value and to pay out at a great discount. In a number

of states working men were still deprived of the ballot, and in all they were liable to arrest and trial for conspiracy under the common law of England if they combined in strikes or lockouts, or formed other organizations for the purpose of bettering their condition.

Regardless of this law, however, after 1825 the work-

BIRTHPLACE OF ROBERT FULTON
At Little Britain, Lancaster County, Pa.

ing men and women began to organize. In New York and Philadelphia the machinists and ship-carpenters each united for the purpose of securing a shorter working day, and in Philadelphia all working men banded themselves together in a political party. In New York they demanded the enactment of the lien law. Their tickets

and measures were defeated, but the organizations continued and ultimately were instrumental in securing much-needed reforms. In New England the women weavers and spinners organized for similar purposes and for giving assistance to those of the organization who fell ill. Since these beginnings, the United States has never been without labor organizations.

3. Contrasts in the North and South.—The industrial conditions of the North and South were now in marked contrast. The Northern states were covered with small, well-tilled farms, worked by their owners, and producing each year a variety of crops. The states were dotted with prosperous towns and villages in which manufacturing industries were located. Every class of society was engaged in some occupation, and in the diversity of callings each individual found that for which he possessed a natural aptitude.

In the South the great demand for cotton immediately following the war had led to the wildest sort of speculation. Extensive tracts of land and large numbers of slaves were bought on credit, and the entire energies of the locality were turned to the production of cotton. No other crop was grown, and no other industries were introduced. Slave labor alone was employed, and it was considered a disgrace for a white man or woman to work; consequently, there was no middle class composed of well-to-do laborers and tradesmen. Most of the cotton was exported to England, and from that

country came about all the manufactures required, though by 1825 many articles thus imported could have been obtained from the North. At the time of the Missouri Compromise seven states were united by common interests through the production of cotton. These states naturally exerted a strong influence in Congress.

ROBERT FULTON

440. Inventions and Discoveries.—1. THE STEAMBOAT. — In this period the American invention which was to exert the greatest influence upon the world was the steamboat, constructed by Robert Fulton in 1807. Fulton was by no means the first to attempt to apply steam to navigation. In 1787 John Fitch moved a boat successfully up the Delaware. His propelling apparatus consisted of a number of vertical paddles that

operated like oars on each side of the boat. For a number of weeks this boat made regular trips between Philadelphia and Trenton, stopping at Burlington, Bristol and Bordentown. But the attention of the country was centered upon the Constitutional Convention, and Fitch's experiment attracted but little notice.

Fulton's boat, the *Clermont*, was a side-wheel steamer of one hundred sixty tons' burden. She had a length of one hundred thirty feet, a width of eighteen feet and paddle wheels fifteen feet in diameter. For a river boat she was considered large. Fulton started on his first trip August 4, and reached Albany, one hundred fifty miles distant, in thirty-two hours. The return trip was made in thirty hours. Slow as this speed seems to us, it was much greater than had previously been made between New York and Albany. A few days after the *Clermont* made her first trip John Stevens of New Jersey, a rival of Fulton, ran a boat of his own construction from New York to Philadelphia, and was thus the first to use a steamboat on the ocean. Previous to the construction of the *Clermont*, Fulton had formed a partnership with Robert R. Livingston, to whom the legislature of New York had granted, for the term of twenty years, the right of steam navigation upon all lakes and rivers under the jurisdiction of the state.

From this time the success of steam navigation was assured. The following season the *Clermont* was remodeled and greatly improved, and rechristened the

North River. Other boats followed in rapid succession. In 1811 the first steamer appeared on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. In 1818 the *Walk-in-the-Water* was launched on Lake Erie, and in 1819 the *Savannah* made the first trip across the Atlantic, going from Savannah to Liverpool in twenty-seven days. This boat was propelled partly by steam and partly by sails. It is said that she carried to England an elaborate treatise which had been written to prove that steam navigation on the ocean was impossible. Regular steamboat trips across the Atlantic did not begin until about the year 1838.

THE CLERMONT
Fulton's first successful steamboat.

2. The Cylinder Press.—The cylinder printing press, first used on the London *Times* in 1814, was an English invention destined to work as great a revolution in printing as did the steamboat in navigation. The Adams power press, completed in 1830, was an American invention on a similar plan. These machines so reduced the price of printing as to widely extend the circulation of newspapers and magazines, and these soon exerted a

great and increasing influence upon the general intelligence and culture of the people.

3. The Use of Anthracite.—For more than thirty years the existence of anthracite or stone coal in large quantities had been known to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, but only a few attempts were made to use it as long as a more convenient fuel[1] was plentiful. During the war the blockade stopped the transportation of bituminous coal from Virginia, and several iron manufacturers began to use anthracite. At first they found great difficulty in igniting it, but when a means had been discovered the coal rapidly came into use. After 1819 it was regularly sold in Philadelphia, and soon after in New York. From these cities its use gradually extended to more remote localities, as wood became scarce and expensive.

ROBERT FULTON
A statue by Howard Roberts, placed in Statuary Hall, Capitol, Washington, by the State of Pennsylvania.

4. Illuminating Gas.—In 1790 only a few streets in any city were lighted, and oil lamps were everywhere

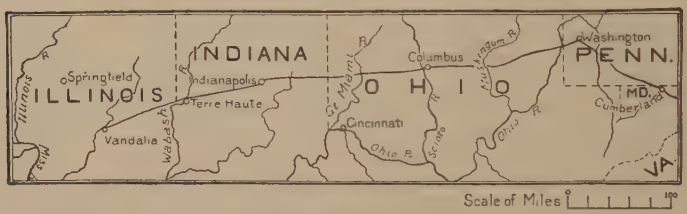
[1] In smelting, the fuel used was charcoal.

used for the purpose. With the growth of the cities the system of lighting was extended by increasing the number of lamps, which were under the care of a night watchman. As early as 1816 attempts were made to use illuminating gas, and on certain nights Peale's Museum in Philadelphia was lighted with it. At first the new light aroused the curiosity of the citizens, but none considered it practical for general illuminating purposes, and many objections were raised against its manufacture on account of the disagreeable odors given off. Boston and New York looked upon the new illuminant from a more practical viewpoint, and in 1822 Boston adopted gas for lighting the streets; the following year New York took similar action. Gas was not used in Philadelphia, however, until 1837.

441. Internal Improvements.—Previous to the administration of John Quincy Adams the government had done but little in the way of constructing public works, since it was generally believed that the Constitution did not authorize the undertaking of such enterprises. For this reason most of the public works were built by the various states, though the government did grant portions of public lands to aid in the construction of certain canals in Ohio, and a portion of the revenue derived from the sale of government lands was also devoted to the construction of roads in the states where the land was located.

1. Cumberland Road. — This highway, sometimes

known as the National Road or the Great National Pike, is the first great public work undertaken by the Federal government. As authorized by Congress in 1806, it was to extend from Cumberland, on the Potomac, to the Ohio River, and thirty thousand dollars was appropriated for beginning the work. The original design was to extend the highway to connect with others leading to the Mississippi River. The road was constructed in sections, as from time to time Congress made the necessary appropriations. During Adams's administration it was built



THE CUMBERLAND ROAD

across Ohio and Indiana. The last appropriation for it was made in 1838, and it extended the road to Vandalia, Illinois. By this time the rapid extension of railroads rendered further work by the government unnecessary. The entire length of the road is eight hundred miles, and its cost was about six million eight hundred thousand dollars. When constructed it was a toll road, but its control has since passed to the states through which it extends and the tolls have long since been abolished.

At the time the Cumberland Road was authorized, other highways were projected through Georgia and the

South, to extend to New Orleans, but they were never built.

2. Erie Canal.—We have already mentioned the first movement towards the construction of canals (Section 365). After this wave of speculation had subsided, but little was accomplished previous to 1817, when the State of New York began the construction of the Erie

ROUTE OF THE ERIE CANAL

Canal. The work went steadily forward for eight years. The canal was formally opened in October, 1825. In that month a procession of boats went from Buffalo to New York, where the formal ceremonies took place. Governor De Witt Clinton of New York, to whose foresight and energy the success of the canal was largely due, poured into the harbor two kegs of water brought from Lake Erie, saying, as he did so:

"This solemnity at this place, on the first arrival of vessels from Lake Erie, is intended to indicate and commemorate the navigable

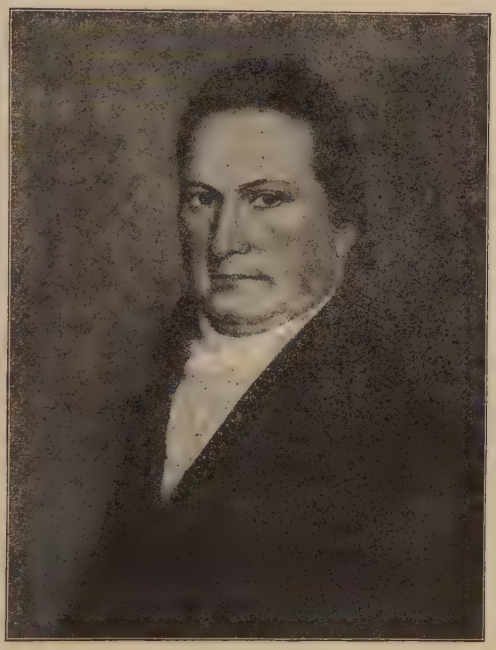
communication which has been accomplished between our mediterranean seas and the Atlantic Ocean in about eight years, to the extent of more than four hundred twenty-five miles, by the public spirit and energy of the people of the State of New York, and may the God of the heavens and the earth smile propitiously on this work and render it subservient to the best interests of the human race." [1]

As first constructed, the Erie Canal was four feet deep and forty feet wide. It contained seventy-two locks and its length was three hundred sixty-three miles, making it the longest canal in the world. The original cost was about seven and two-thirds million dollars. The canal has since been twice enlarged, and is now seven feet deep and seventy-two feet in width.

The Erie Canal is one of the most important public works ever undertaken in the country. Its completion united the Great Lakes with the Atlantic and at one stroke reduced the cost of freight between Buffalo and New York City from one hundred dollars to ten dollars per ton. It opened the markets of the world to the vast prairie states, and within three years placed upon the Great Lakes a fleet of merchant ships far larger than was anticipated by the most ardent advocate of the enterprise. It made New York City the natural meeting place for the domestic and foreign commerce of the country, and first gave it that prestige as a commercial center which it has since maintained. But of greater value than all these achievements was the influence of the canal upon our national life. As no other event had

[1] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, vol. v.

previously done, the completion of the canal drew the attention of the people to the great prairie states and also committed the country to a policy of public improvement and advancement westward that in the next half-century extended civilization to the Pacific Ocean.

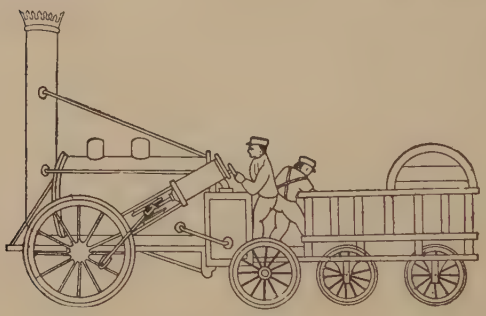


DE WITT CLINTON
[From a painting by James Sharpless, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.]

The Erie Canal was followed by the organization of other canal companies. At the time of its completion the Delaware and Ohio was well under way, and the Chesapeake and Ohio was about to be commenced. The canal connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River was also begun the same year. The Erie Canal was disastrous to the trade of Boston and Philadelphia, as it diverted from each of these cities much of the commerce that had previously passed through their harbors, and each city

considered numerous canal schemes for connecting it with the interior of the country; but before any of these were matured the advent of the railway caused them to be abandoned.

3. Railroads.—Early in the century the steam engine was employed in England for hauling cars on some of the tramways leading from the coal mines. In 1825 the Stockton and Darlington Railway, twenty-five miles in length, was opened, and a locomotive constructed by George Stephenson was successfully used on it. Four years later the remarkable success of Stephenson's *Rocket* on the Manchester and Liverpool Railway assured the successful application of steam power to railway transportation, and directed the attention of all the leading countries to the construction of railways.

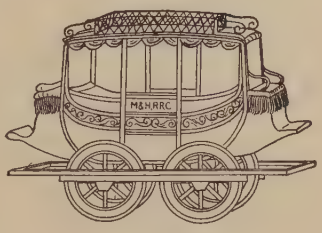


THE ROCKET
Robert Stephenson's steam locomotive, built in 1829.

There is some difference of opinion as to when and where the first railroad in the United States was constructed, some claiming that it was the road from the quarries in Quincy, Mass., to the coast, and others that previous to this numerous short lines had been built in the Pennsylvania coal regions. Be this as it may, the first

application for a charter for a railroad was made by John Stevens of Hoboken to the legislature of New Jersey, in 1811. The charter was refused. The following year Stevens and others attempted to induce the New York canal commission to construct a railroad instead of a canal between Albany and Buffalo. This attempt likewise failed.

The distress caused by the War of 1812 greatly changed public opinion in regard to methods of transportation, and in 1815 Stevens was granted a charter—the first of its kind in America—to construct a railroad joining the Delaware and Raritan rivers, but the road was never built. In 1819 Benjamin Dearborn of Boston applied to Congress for assistance to enable him to construct and test a steam locomotive. Dearborn claimed that he could construct a machine that would run a mile in three minutes. He was considered a dreamer and his application was refused. Previous to 1823 a number of charters for railroads were granted in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, but the lines were not begun. There was a general prejudice against railroads and in favor of canals, principally because the canal companies were opposed to their construction, and also because the people did not understand what a railway was or what it could do. As information concern-



EARLY RAILROAD CAR

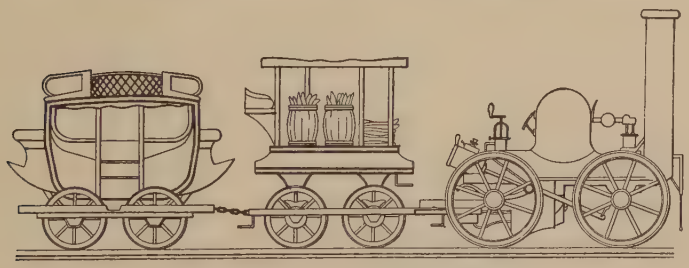
ing the English railways became more generally disseminated, public sentiment began to change.

In 1827 a railroad was constructed in the coal regions in Pennsylvania, and another from the granite quarries at Quincy, Mass., to the coast, a distance of five miles, but neither of these used steam locomotives. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was begun the following year, and opened to traffic in 1830. This was the first line in the United States to transport regularly passengers and freight. It was followed by the Delaware and Hudson Road and by the South Carolina Road. On all, the rails were of wood, covered with strips of iron to prevent their wearing. The condition of the iron manufacture in the country at this time is well illustrated by the fact that the Baltimore and Ohio Company applied to Congress for the privilege of importing its iron free of duties, as it could not be obtained in the United States, and the privilege was granted. On the Baltimore and Ohio and Delaware and Hudson lines the cars were at first hauled by horses, but the South Carolina Road was planned for the use of steam from the beginning. The first locomotive was brought from England and placed on the Delaware and Hudson Road in 1829. The following year an American-built locomotive was placed on the South Carolina line.

At first railway construction proceeded very slowly, and between 1825 and 1830 only thirty-six miles of road were built in the entire country. In the plan and loca-

tion of these lines the projectors did not look forward to connection with other lines or the building up of railway systems. The Baltimore and Ohio formed a marked exception to this, as it was from the outset planned to develop into a great system, which is now much more extensive than the most fanciful dreamer of that day would have dared to imagine. While but a few miles of railway were constructed during this decade, nevertheless, from the plans projected, our present railway system, which includes nearly half of the mileage of the world, has arisen.

442. Commerce.—Our foreign trade was fast approaching the proportions which it had reached before the War of 1812, and in 1830, for the first time in our history, our exports exceeded our imports. Our annual revenue was



AMERICAN RAILWAY TRAIN IN 1830
First train drawn by steam locomotive over the tracks of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

nearly twenty-two millions of dollars. The relative condition of exports and imports shows the great gain that American manufactures had made since 1820. The development of these manufacturing interests created a

growing demand for an increased protective tariff. This was strenuously opposed by the agricultural communities, who were large consumers of imported goods, and this antagonism of interests was destined in the future to lead to serious difficulty.

The invention of the steamboat and the completion of the Erie Canal greatly increased our inland trade. Boat stores became common on the Ohio and some other inland rivers. A flatboat was fitted up as a store and stocked with goods of various sorts, then started from Pittsburg down the river. As it neared a settlement, blasts from a horn attracted the attention of the inhabitants, the boat was moored to a landing and an opportunity for trade was offered. Goods were disposed of in exchange for such products as the settlers had, and but little money changed hands. Other boats, fitted up as blacksmith shops, carpenter shops and for other purposes, were also frequently seen on this river. These migratory establishments not only brought to their owners a satisfactory revenue, but were also of great convenience to the people, who without them would have been deprived of many of the necessaries and comforts of life.

443. Public Lands.—The first public domain was obtained by some of the original states ceding their claims to unorganized western territory to the United States (Section 315, 2). This domain was greatly increased by the Louisiana Purchase and received a second valuable addition by the purchase of Florida. After the

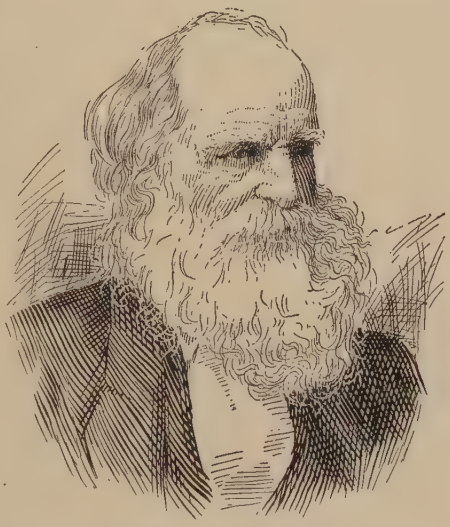
Revolutionary War settlers began to cross the mountains and find homes along the Ohio. This made some form of government for the region necessary, and one of the last acts of the Continental Congress was the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory (Section 315, 4). This measure was secured largely through the efforts of Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper, Manasseh Cutler and others, who had organized the Ohio Company and purchased on the Muskingum one and one-half million acres of government land, paying therefor about two-thirds of a dollar an acre. At the same time three and one-half million acres adjacent to this were sold to a company composed mostly of members of Congress. The latter sale was for the purpose of speculation, but land sold to the Ohio Company went directly to settlers.

This transaction illustrates the early policy of the government in regard to the sale of public lands. Previous to 1800 such lands were sold only in large lots, and by special contract, thus placing them in the hands of speculators who resold to settlers in smaller lots at an immense profit. A square mile was the smallest lot that could be purchased from the government, and the lowest price for which it could be obtained was two dollars per acre, cash. But few of those who desired to settle on the frontier were prepared to meet these conditions, and public land sold very slowly. In 1800 General William Henry Harrison, as territorial delegate

from Ohio, appeared before Congress and accomplished the greatest work of his life. He secured the enactment of a law allowing government land to be offered at auction in half-sections of three hundred twenty acres each. This was afterwards reduced to quarter-sections of one hundred sixty acres. If not sold at auction, any settler could secure the half-section by filing a claim at the government land office and paying for the survey and two dollars an acre for the land. One-fourth of this was to be paid within forty days after entry, and the remainder within four years. This made the purchase of land possible to nearly all immigrants, and following the passage of the law the number of settlers rapidly increased.

The prostration of business caused by the embargo compelled many settlers to default in their payments, and in 1811 thousands of acres on which small payments had been made, reverted to the government; but after this date Congress was lenient with the delinquents, and they retained possession of their lands. The increase in the number of settlers on account of the war and the credit system led to speculation in public lands, and this was further aided by a provision of Congress by which the government agreed to accept the bills of Western state banks in payment for lands, provided these banks would receive and reissue treasury notes. Before the payments on much of the land purchased on these terms fell due, Congress forbade the secretary of the treasury to accept anything but bills convertible into coin in pay-

ment for public lands, and many of the debtors were compelled to default. In 1820 the credit system was abolished and a new law substituted. By the provisions of this law, land was offered for sale to the highest bidder in blocks of eighty acres, but no bid of less than $1.25 per acre was to be received. With but few alterations, this law remained in force until the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862.



WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

The land ordinance of 1785 reserved one section out of every thirty-six for the support of public schools in the township, and this provision was reaffirmed in the Ordinance of 1787. In addition to this, special grants were made in all of the new states for the support of universities, colleges and seminaries.

The present system of survey was first used in surveying the eastern part of Ohio, where the Ohio Company had located. In the original states there is no uniform system, and the division lines are very irregular.

444. Education.—The credit for the American system of free public schools is due to Massachusetts, where such schools were established by order of the General Court in 1647, and were continued from that date. The colonial systems in vogue at the beginning of the Revolution were continued by the states, but the stress of war caused education everywhere to be neglected, and strange as it may seem, after the restoration of peace all states were slow in making suitable provisions for the education of their youth. Through the sale of lands in the Western Reserve (Section 377) Connecticut secured a fund of one million two hundred eighty thousand dollars, the income of which after 1795 provided a fund of sixty thousand dollars a year to be used for school purposes. It was the original intention that this should be supplemented by state aid, but when the annual income had reached the above figures the state aid was abolished and public schools rapidly declined. The system in Rhode Island provided for free schools for children of those too poor to pay tuition; a general free school system was not established in that state until 1828.

In New York there was no system of free schools previous to the Revolution, and after the war the repeated appeals of Governor Clinton to the legislature for providing public education met with little response. In 1795 the state agreed to distribute fifty thousand dollars a year for five years among the towns, according to population, and during the next four years over thir-

teen hundred schools were established under this fund. However, with the expiration of the five-year period the school system practically collapsed. In 1805 a few public-spirited men in New York City banded together and incorporated as a society for educating poor children. Three years later this organization became the Free School Society of New York, and admitted to its schools free of charge all children suitable for education. This led to the law of 1812, and ultimately to the present system of public instruction.

In New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and the states farther south, the movement for free public schools was even more backward. In Pennsylvania practically nothing was done until 1802, and the movement of that year provided for the education of the poor as paupers and of the rich at their own expense. In Philadelphia and other cities schools were established by churches and benevolent societies, and not until 1818 did the legislature provide for the establishment of a system of public schools. The experiences described above were repeated with little variation in the other states.

The first systems, with few exceptions, were wrong in that they recognized, indeed emphasized, class distinctions. The children of the poor were either entirely ignored, deprived of opportunity to secure even the rudiments of an education, or were forced to be educated as confessed paupers, subjected to the contempt of their teachers and of all other classes of society. Better sys-

tems were not established earlier because of the exceeding unpopularity of taxation, even for the support of necessary public enterprises. The burden of the war and the business depression which followed made it almost impossible to raise money for any purpose. Besides, at this time people had not realized the relation of education to the State.

Academies and colleges were established in all the states, and their influence upon educational affairs during our first half-century can never be measured. With scarcely an exception, these institutions were under the control of some religious denomination, and their teachers were college-bred men. The academies were generally open to both sexes. They prepared boys for college and in addition gave a liberal education in English. They also exerted a strong influence in securing the public school systems in their respective states.

445. Literature.—The style of literature brought forth by the Revolutionary War was continued during the formative years of the new nation. Most of the literature of the time consisted of argumentative essays of a political nature, like those in the *Federalist*, and of editorials which formed long leaders in the most prominent newspapers. Many of these arguments were published in the form of pamphlets, which were widely read. Sometimes the writer attached his own name to his production, but frequently the pamphlet was sent forth under a pseudonym whose meaning was an indication of

the author's position; so, Hamilton and Madison discussed the neutrality proclamation under the respective names of *Helvidius* and *Pacificus*. For strength and clearness of argument, the political writings of this period fall not far below those of the statesmen of any age or any nation.

WASHINGTON IRVING

In each of the large cities a number of magazines were published. Most of these were of a general character and partook of the nature of reviews and repositories of knowledge. The *North American Review*, established in 1815, has continued to the present time. There were also a number of religious magazines, devoted to the interests of their respective denominations, and in 1804 class periodicals received a great impetus. From this time forward magazines devoted to law, medi-

cine, and religion became permanently established and continued to increase in influence and importance. Silliman's *Journal of Arts and Sciences*, the first American magazine devoted wholly to science, appeared in 1820, and was soon followed by the *American Meteorological Journal*. The *Religious Remembrancer*, issued at Philadelphia in 1813, was the first weekly religious paper in the country. Within the next few years ten others were started. Among these, *Zion's Herald* of Boston and the New York *Observer* are still in existence.

In 1830 there were over fourteen hundred newspapers in the country. Reduction of the cost of paper and printing had enabled the publishers to reduce the subscription price of these journals, and their circulation was constantly increasing. There were a few publications that pretended to be devoted to the interests of children, but the clean, healthy and inspiring juvenile literature, adapted to the mental capacity and tastes of the young, with which we are so familiar, was at this time entirely wanting. History and biography were attracting the attention of writers and readers. Previous to 1830, histories of New England, Massachusetts, Connecticut, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana and Pennsylvania had been published. Congress had published the official journal of the Constitutional Convention, and Gibbs had written a history of Washington's and Adams's administrations. Lives of General Greene, James Otis, Patrick Henry and Richard

Henry Lee had been given to the public, and Sparks was engaged upon that series of works which was to place him among the foremost biographers of the century.

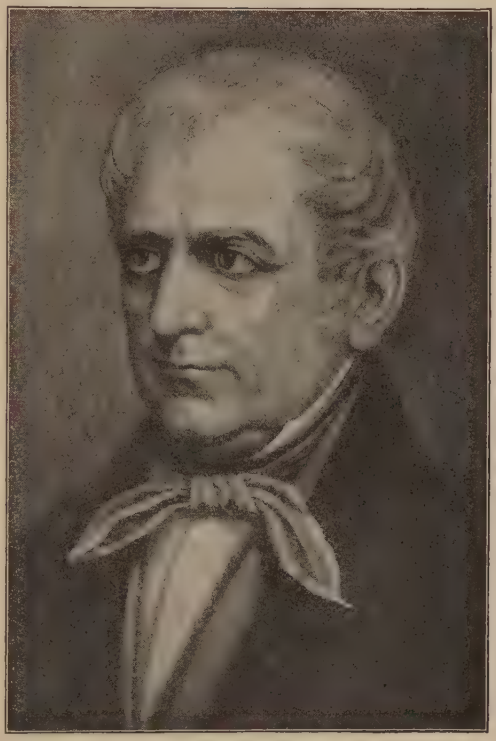
The first American to devote himself wholly to the literary profession was Charles Brockden Brown, whose novels, among them *Wieland, Clara Howard* and *Arthur Mervin,* are remembered chiefly as the first real fiction produced in America. Brown's gloomy, almost morbid temperament found expression in mysterious and terrible incidents and characters resembling those in the tales of a later and greater genius, Edgar Allan Poe; but being intensely American in spirit and setting, they testify to the beginnings of a school of literature more original, independent and pretentious than any that had yet flourished in the New World.

The early literary activity of the country centered at New York and was the work chiefly of three men whose names still stand, each in its own sphere, for a high degree of excellence—Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper and William Cullen Bryant. Washington Irving, the earliest of the well-known American men of letters, first showed promise of literary power in his *Knickerbocker's History of New York,* a quaintly told story of early Dutch rule, still read for its broad humor and ludicrously extravagant descriptions of persons and events. The *Salmagundi Papers,* his next work, were similar in nature to Addison's *Spectator* and were dis-

cussions of the foibles of the time, sometimes serious, sometimes ironical, sometimes frankly humorous in tone. Irving's real fame began with the publication of his *Sketch Book*, which contained some of the stories by which he is still best known, such as *Rip Van Winkle* and the *Legend of Sleepy Hollow*. Both of these are masterpieces of their kind and they are very much alike. The scene of each is laid in the beautiful lower Hudson and Catskill region of New York and each is a delightful rendition of a quaint old Dutch legend. These sketches, with his later works upon Spanish history and scenery, especially his delightful descriptions of the Alhambra, brought Irving to the notice of eminent writers in Europe and for the first time commanded foreign respect for American literature.

James Fenimore Cooper has well been called "the creator of the American novel of adventure"; also, "the American Scott." Original plots and incidents, vivid descriptions, admirable but not always true characters, and a generally interesting though sometimes prolix style, combined to make his novels popular in both Europe and America. His eight best works, *The Spy*, *The Pilot*, *The Red Rover*, *The Deerslayer*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Pathfinder*, *The Pioneers* and *The Prairie* are remarkably picturesque tales of adventure, rivaling those of Sir Walter Scott in power and resembling them in both their faults and virtues. *The Pilot* and *The Red Rover* are exciting tales of the sea, a field

in which Cooper has rarely been excelled. All the others consist of intensely interesting descriptions of life and adventure among the Indians. Though he did not possess a truly great style with which to portray the cultured, refined side of American life, Cooper was a worthy representative "of the genius and primitive vigor of life in the New World."



JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

William Cullen Bryant never eclipsed the fame which he attained by the publication of almost his first work, *Thanatopsis.* This remarkable poem, published in the *North American Review* in 1817, was written six years before, when the poet was but seventeen years old. It is a reflective poem upon nature and death, written with a dignity

and solemnity of style remarkable in so young a man. In the same year his *Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood* appeared, and in 1821 he published a book of poems containing *To a Water Fowl,* one of his most beautiful poems of nature, *The Ages* and *The Yellow Violet.* Ten years later another volume appeared, including *Forest Hymn, Song of Marion's Men, To the Fringed Gentian, The Death of the Flowers* and others, which placed him at once among the eminent writers of his day. Though his range was limited, within his own narrow field Bryant did excellent work, and some of his poems have immortal beauty.

Other authors of less fame were writing at this time. Fitz Greene Halleck (1790-1867) is chiefly remembered for his martial ballad, *Marco Bozzaris,* published in 1825. James K. Paulding (1778-1860) not only assisted Irving in *Salmagundi,* but did important work of his own, and in his novel, *The Dutchman's Fireside* (1831), combined much of Irving's literary skill with Cooper's power of vivid and picturesque description. Joseph Rodman Drake (1795–1820) in his *Culprit Fay,* a delicately fanciful fairy tale, and *The American Flag,* a stirring patriotic poem, showed rare promise, which was unfulfilled, owing to his early death. Other well-known poems dating from this time are Francis Scott Key's *Star Spangled Banner,* John Howard Payne's *Home, Sweet Home,* Clement Clark Moore's *A Visit from Saint Nicholas* and Samuel Woodworth's *Old Oaken Bucket.*

446. Adams and Jefferson.—On the fiftieth anniversary of our independence, Adams and Jefferson passed away. Special ceremonies had been planned for the celebration of the anniversary at Washington, and both had been invited. Each declined in a letter signed by his own hand. News of Jefferson's death reached Washington on the sixth, and on the ninth President Adams learned that his father had passed away. Jefferson had always been "the man of the people," and all through his life he served his country and state better than he did himself. He died poor, as have numerous others who held the highest office in the gift of the nation. To the last he kept his interest in, and exerted his influence upon, American political affairs. Only a short time before his death he had recommended such an amendment to the Constitution as would legalize the construc-

SLEEPY HOLLOW CHURCH, TARRYTOWN

Probably the oldest church now standing in New York State, having been erected in 1699. Washington Irving is buried in the churchyard here.

tion of public works by the government. Adams's last sentiment, sent as a toast to the celebration at Quincy, was, "Independence forever," and his last words, "Thomas Jefferson still survives." Both men were signers of the Declaration of Independence, and Jefferson was its author. Universal sorrow was expressed at the loss of these two founders of the Republic, and public funerals were held throughout the land. Their influence upon the country was well expressed by Daniel Webster in an oration delivered in Faneuil Hall: "The tears which flow and the honors that are paid when the founders of the Republic die give hope that the Republic itself may be immortal."

Of the other leading statesmen of their day, Monroe died in 1831, Charles Carroll in 1832 and Madison in 1836.

QUESTIONS

Account for the location of manufacturing towns in New England and New York.

How do the conditions of the working man in 1825–30 compare with those of the present time? In what respects have these conditions been improved? What influences have in some localities tended to make conditions less favorable?

Which invention has exerted the greater influence upon the world, the steamboat or the cotton gin? Give your reason for your opinion.

Of what importance was the beginning of the use of anthracite coal? To what extent is this coal now used? Where is it obtained?

Compare in their importance the Cumberland Road and the Erie Canal. Why was the Erie Canal of greater importance than that connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River?

Why did the introduction of railroads lead to the abandonment of numerous canal enterprises?

In whose interests does the first plan for the sale of public lands seem to have been made? Why was the change secured by General Harrison so important? Has the public land all been sold? How much remains?

Why did public education proceed so slowly? How does the school system in your state compare with that first established in Massachusetts?

Can you see any good reason for our not having pure literature earlier? If so, state it. How do the magazines of the period compare with those with which you are familiar? Why have the poems named in this chapter lived?

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Limited public education adopted in Connecticut and New York	1795
Free School Society of New York organized	1805
Invention of the steamboat by Fulton	1807
Cumberland Road built	1807–1838
First steamboat on the Ohio and the Mississippi	1811
Cylinder press invented	1814
North American Review established	1815
Erie Canal begun	1817
First steamboat on the Great Lakes	1818
First steamboat trip across the ocean	1819
Public land laws passed	1820
Boston streets lighted by gas	1822
Erie Canal opened	1825
Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson	July 4, 1826
Steam locomotive first used in America	about 1829
William Cullen Bryant	1798–1878
Thanatopsis published	1817
Washington Irving	1783–1859
Sketch Book published	1820
James Fenimore Cooper	1789–1851
The Spy published	1821

OLD ILLINOIS STATEHOUSE, SPRINGFIELD

Now the Sangamon County Courthouse. Here was Abraham Lincoln's office from his election till his departure for Washington in 1861.

PART THREE

THE GROWTH OF SECTIONALISM

1829-1860

PART THREE

THE GROWTH OF SECTIONALISM

CHAPTER XV

A POLITICAL REVOLUTION

1789-1829

Suggestions for Study.—This chapter is a review of the political changes from the organization of the government to the opening of Jackson's administration. In studying it, hold the events mentioned clearly in mind. Try to see wherein the change of political principles and ideals was beneficial and wherein it was injurious.

Trace the causes of the growth of democratic tendencies among the people. Why were the principles of democracy applied in local government earlier than in the national government?

Distinguish carefully the difference in political creed of the Republicans under Jefferson and the Democrats under Jackson.

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447. The Rise of Democracy.—1. Republicanism.—With the election of Jackson the United States entered upon a new period of her political history. Again, as in 1800, the representatives of popular ambitions and ideals were in power, but they were of another generation of voters and statesmen, and in their political creed many of them differed widely from the followers of Jefferson.

During the first decade of our political history the nation was in the hands of a party who believed in government by leaders and who sought to ally with the Federal government the wealthy and influential classes.

The leading Federalists distrusted the people, and many of them believed that popular rule meant mob rule. To this belief must be attributed some of the features of the Constitution. It was supposed by the framers of that instrument that the Senate would always be composed of members selected by the conservative and more wealthy class of citizens, and that it would serve as a check upon the more popular House. The provisions for the election of president and the establishment of the judiciary department were also based on similar ideas, and when the government was organized those in control proceeded to apply these principles in such a manner as to stamp them firmly upon the nation.

With the election of Jefferson we entered upon our second period of political history under the Constitution. Jefferson believed in the sober good sense of the people; he believed that if the government was entrusted to them, self-interest would lead them to choose wise rulers. A large party accepted the principles which he advocated, and it was expected that with his coming into power these principles would be generally applied.

The three great doctrines of the Republicans at that time were a close and limited construction of the Constitution; state sovereignty, which would restrict the functions of the national government to the management of foreign affairs, a slight control of commerce and a general dissemination of knowledge; a foreign policy which would control our relations with other nations

through restrictions of trade. Jefferson was forced to limit the application of the first policy, if not to abandon it, in 1803, when he wished to purchase Louisiana; his application of the policy of commercial retaliation in the shape of non-importation and embargo acts proved the principle to be almost wholly unpractical; the threatened secession of New England, which was the principle of state sovereignty carried to extreme conclusions, had shown that that principle could be profitably applied only with very great limitations.

The Republican party committed a serious blunder when it practiced economy amounting to neglect in regard to military and naval expenditures, for the purpose of diverting the national revenue to the payment of the public debt. The idea of economy was wise, but it was not necessary that the national debt should be wiped out at the expense of the national defenses, especially when our foreign relations were likely to draw us into war. Another mistake which cost the country dearly was the refusal to recharter the Bank of the United States. We have already learned (Section 408) the reasons on which this action was based, but had the Republican leaders looked more to the interests of the country than to an abstract theory concerning the construction of the Constitution, they might have prevented one of the most serious financial disasters in all our history. To abolish the Bank when the country was on the verge of war, and thereby to remove the most important financial

agent of the government and one upon which it must depend for a vigorous prosecution of the war, was indeed a short-sighted policy. Another error, also arising from adherence to the old principles of strict construction, was the refusal to levy internal taxes. As a result of these measures the government went into the conflict with Great Britain shorn of revenue.

While these errors of judgment and policy must be

WASHINGTON ARCH, NEW YORK
Erected at the head of Fifth Avenue to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the government.

acknowledged, credit must be given to the party for establishing in American politics the principle that government is of, by and for the people; that it should be near to them and responsive to their wishes. In stamping this principle permanently upon our political institutions the party attained its chief title to remembrance.

2. Democracy.—That the War of 1812 might easily have been avoided seems clear to us, and it was equally clear to many at the time war was declared. The opponents were found among two classes—the New England Federalists, who opposed it on financial and industrial grounds; and the old-line Republicans, who, with Gallatin, believed that offensive war under any circumstances was a mistake. Opposed to this faction in the government was the war party, composed of young Republicans, a number of whom became conspicuous in the Twelfth Congress (Section 409), and the more progressive Federalists, who had reconstructed their political creed and broken away from the extremists of their party. Conspicuous among these were such men as John Quincy Adams and Daniel Webster.

This faction constituted the nucleus of a new political party. The men composing it were of a new generation. They were not wedded to the doctrine of states' rights, neither did they believe that foreign relations should be controlled by the passive policy of non-intercourse; they refused to sit idly by and see our commerce and industries ruined. From their political creed this faction could properly be styled Federalist-Democrats. They did not agree with Jefferson and Madison in their policy of commercial restrictions, nor with Gallatin in his views of war. These Congressmen were vigorously supported by their constituents, who had become sufficiently numerous to secure a majority in the councils of

the nation. Yet the men who were so eager to declare war had not completely broken away from the traditions of the old Republicans; they helped to abolish the Bank and refused to levy the taxes necessary to a vigorous prosecution of the war. "They declared war like Federalists, and undertook to wage it like Republicans." [1]

As we have seen, the war led to the overthrow of the Federalists and to the retirement of most of the old-line Republicans. In 1816 the Federalists cast thirty-four votes for president, but they wielded no influence in the government. The new Republicans had come into power and during Monroe's administration there was no organized opposition to them. There was no single conspicuous leader of the party; a period of personal politics was inaugurated, in which the party was divided into numerous factions, each held together more by the personality of its leader than by the support of peculiar principles, but the spirit of democracy had obtained a firm hold upon the people.

448. Change in Political Methods.—The triumph of democratic principles did not begin in the national government. The Republicans, as late as 1815, had not abolished a single principle established during Washington's administration.

1. Local and State Governments.—Democratic principles were first applied in the local and state governments:

[1] Gordy, *Political History of the United States.*

(a) *By the extension of the right of suffrage.* In nearly all states, previous to 1830, the old property qualification for suffrage had been abolished and the franchise had been extended to all male citizens over twenty-one years of age.

(b) *In the political caucus.* The caucus originated in Congress, and was first used for nominating the president, but it extended to local and state affairs, and thereby enabled the people to have more or less voice in the selection of candidates for office. From the local caucus was but a step to the state nominating conventions, and these soon followed.

LADY'S COSTUME
About 1830.

(c) *In the separation of Church and State.* At the organization of the national government the right of suffrage was in several states restricted to church membership; in the South, all through the colonial period, the Established Church was supported by government tax. As one after another these states revised their constitutions, these features were abolished, and the Old World notion of a legal connection between Church and State was entirely eliminated from our political system.

(d) *Choice of presidential electors.* After democratic principles had been applied to those government affairs

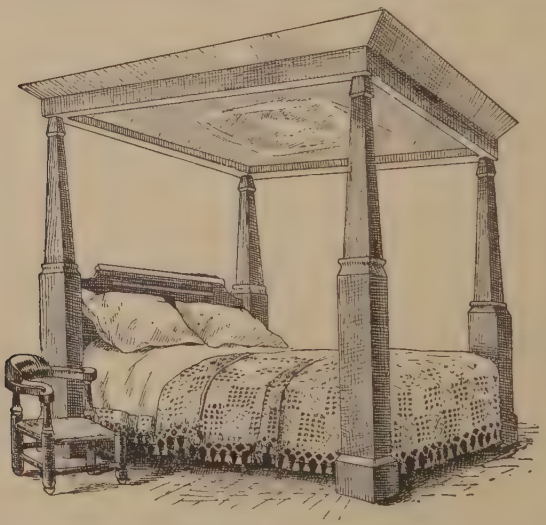
that were purely local, they were next extended to those that were quasi-national, and here we find their first effect in a radical change in the methods of choosing presidential electors. At the beginning these officials exercised their individual judgment in the choice of president, but when nomination through the congressional caucus was inaugurated, they were deprived of exercising this choice, and the president was virtually elected by Congress, a proceeding which perverted the intention of the Constitution and its makers, and was certainly undesirable, if not illegal. Presidential electors at this time were in nearly all states chosen by the state legislatures. By these methods the people were almost wholly deprived of voice in the selection of president. As the principles of democracy gained a hold upon state governments, the states one after another abolished the choosing of electors by their legislatures and substituted choice by popular vote, thus giving the people greater voice in the election of chief magistrate. By 1824 no more than six states chose the electors through their legislatures.

2. Presidential Nominations. — During Monroe's administration there was a growing dissatisfaction with the method of nominating presidential candidates. The Congressional caucus was the natural outgrowth of party organization among members of the Senate and the House, and was undoubtedly prompted by a desire to do what was for the best interests of the country. Yet, a

political method more directly opposed to the principles of democracy could scarcely have been devised. By it a portion of the members of Congress, all of whom were prohibited by the Constitution from serving as presidential electors, virtually controlled the election of the chief magistrate of the nation. Notwithstanding this, all the Republican presidents from Jefferson to John Quincy Adams were placed in nomination by Congressional caucuses. However, in 1824 the opposition became outspoken and the voice of the people began to be heard through the state legislatures. Jackson was nominated by the legislature of Tennessee, Adams by a convention in Massachusetts, and each nominee was endorsed by the legislatures of the states in which he had a majority. In 1828 the candidates were nominated entirely by state legislatures, and before the succeeding election the national nominating convention became a part of our political machinery.

449. New Parties.—Our first half-century was characterized by unprecedented national growth, not only in the acquisition of territory, but also in population. By 1821 eleven new states had been added to the Union, and all but two of these states were west of the Alleghenies. The inhabitants of these new states were descendants from that stern and hardy people who had subdued the wilderness, fought the Indians, expelled the French from the continent and triumphed in the struggle for independence. The dangers and hardships incident

upon the settlement of a new country and the development of its resources placed all on an equal footing, and class distinction among them was unknown. They lacked culture, for the establishing of homes and providing for the necessities of life had required all their energies and strength. The time for giving consideration to what is usually denominated culture and refinement had



HENRY CLAY'S BED
An excellent example of the massive furniture of the early nineteenth century.

not arrived. But the inhabitants of these states were not lacking in intelligence. Poor as were the means of communication, the newspaper was found in many homes, and most of the men possessed an understanding of national affairs. They were active, energetic, patriotic, and gloried in their power as men and citizens.

As they increased in numbers and political strength, the inhabitants of these states began to exert an influence in national affairs. They were the first to raise a voice against the Congressional caucus. With two exceptions, all presidents before Jackson had come from Virginia, and the West entered a protest against what they were pleased to term "The Virginia Dynasty." Again, every president since Washington had served as secretary of state, and that position was generally looked upon as a stepping-stone to the presidency. Against this custom another protest was entered. The West believed in a government by the people, and they wanted for president a man like themselves. Jackson was a typical representative of such men, and it was this element that placed him in nomination in 1824. That he lacked culture or experience in government affairs was of no consequence to his followers. He was a hero, a strong and positive character, who had succeeded in everything he had undertaken, and that he would succeed as president was a logical conclusion.

The followers of Adams came more generally from the New England and Middle states and the older states of the South. They still held many of the traditions of the old-line Republicans, though they believed in internal improvements, a liberal construction of the Constitution and a protective tariff.

During Adams's administration political lines were

sharply drawn. Conspicuous among the followers of Adams were Webster and Clay. That wing of the party which accepted the doctrines and supported the measures of the administration took upon themselves the name National-Republicans. This was the beginning of an organization that later, with some changes, developed into the Whig party.

In 1824 Jackson received a plurality, both of the popular vote and of the electoral vote, and in the election of Adams by the House of Representatives the followers of Jackson felt that the choice of the people had been denied. This feeling served as a means for gathering the Jackson party into an organization. His followers did not know Jackson's ideas upon the tariff, internal improvements or a national bank, but as the organization became perfected, ideas upon these subjects were gradually formulated. This wing of the party opposed the construction of internal improvements by the national government and favored a somewhat strict construction of the Constitution. They first took upon themselves the name of Democratic-Republicans, then of Jacksonian-Democrats, and later, Democrats; and under this name, with but two slight interruptions, they administered the government until the Civil War. Jackson was a president of a new type. Coming from the West, nominated by the legislatures of the states and elected by a large popular majority, he was a real president of the people.

QUESTIONS

Why did Jefferson not apply the principles of democracy more completely during his administration?

Why was the Republican party necessary? Had the Federalists been allowed to go on without opposition, would they have established a monarchical form of government?

What were the fundamental points of difference between the old and the new Republicans?

How do you account for the principles of democracy first being applied in local instead of national government?

Why was the separation of Church and State a movement in the interests of democracy?

Of what significance was the change in the methods of nominating presidential candidates?

Account for the independent character of the inhabitants of the West.

Why did most of the National-Republicans come from the old states and most of the Democratic-Republicans from the new states?

REFERENCES

The political principles and changes of the period are well discussed by Wilson in his *Division and Reunion* (Epochs of American History), ch. i, pp. 2–21; also in Merriam's *American Political Theories*, chs. iv and v, pp. 143–202. Consult also Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, chs. xii and xiii, and McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, pp. 372–432 and pp. 515–526.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Federalist supremacy	1789–1800
Supremacy of Jeffersonian Democracy (Republicans)	1800–1817
Supremacy of Federalist Democracy	1817–1829
Beginning of era of supremacy of Jacksonian Democracy	1829

CHAPTER XVI

UNDER THE NEW REGIME

1829-1837

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—Notice the difference between Jackson's methods and those of his predecessors. Determine what changes were permanently beneficial and what ones were injurious.

In studying the removal of the Creeks and Cherokee, trace the government's policy towards the Indians from 1790. Was Georgia justified in demanding the removal of these Indians? If so, on what grounds?

The financial policy of Jackson's administration deserves careful study. Try to discover from the financial history of the government up to this time the principles upon which a sound currency is based.

Another important topic in this chapter is the relation of the state government to the national government. If possible, in connection with this study read Hayne's oration and Webster's reply.

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450. Reorganization of the Government. — General Jackson arrived in Washington on the day on which the electoral vote was counted. Thither he was followed by a throng of politicians, office-seekers and others curious to witness his inauguration. Washington was filled with a greater crowd of people from all sections of the country and all classes of society than had ever before been seen in the national capital. At this time the disgraceful scramble for office began which has been the bane of every succeeding administration.

1. THE CABINET.—From the beginning Jackson instituted several new features in the administration of

affairs. Only two members of his cabinet had attained wide reputation or manifested much ability in public life. These were Martin Van Buren, who was called from the governorship of New York to become secretary of state, and John McLean of Ohio, the postmaster-general, who under the two previous administrations had managed his department with remarkable success. For the first time the postmaster-general was given a seat in the cabinet.

2. The "Kitchen Cabinet."—Jackson abolished the cabinet councils common to his predecessors and relied for advice upon a few chosen men, some of whom were in the cabinet, but most of whom were his close personal friends and associates. This combination received the name of the "kitchen cabinet." The men comprising it practically controlled the policy of the administration. Three of these were editors of local partisan journals, and one, Amos Kendall, combined an intelligent grasp of large questions with the practice of the most unscrupulous political wire-puller. He became the leading spirit of the administration.

As a result of these innovations each department of the government in a great measure became a law unto itself, and the unity of method and purpose which had characterized the preceding administrations was lacking during most of Jackson's term of office.

3. The Spoils System.—The greatest and most far-reaching change wrought by the new party was the

removal from office of all those who were not of the same political party as the administration. This began with the change of the cabinet officers and was gradually extended to include all the heads of departments, assistants and clerks at Washington. The policy was then carried to the post-office department, and the postmaster-general was requested to remove all postmasters who had voted against Jackson or had in any way aided the opposite party. McLean promptly refused to comply with this demand. A vacancy had occurred on the bench of the Supreme Court, and he was appointed associate justice and a postmaster-general found who was willing to do the president's bidding.

ANDREW JACKSON

These removals caused distress among the families of the officials turned out of office, but so long as this suffering was confined to the officials at Washington, the country at large gave little heed to the proceeding.

However, when the postmasters were attacked and men who for years had handled the mails for their respective communities were removed for political purposes, many remonstrances arose. But the administration adhered to its policy, and before the middle of his first term Jackson had established throughout the country a faithful band of office holders and a more thoroughly organized party than had previously existed in the United States.

The spoils system received its name from Senator William L. Marcy of New York, who in 1832, in a speech in the Senate, made the remark: "To the victors belong the spoils of the enemy." The responsibility of inaugurating this policy has frequently been thrown entirely upon President Jackson, though he was largely the victim of circumstances beyond his control. The system originated among the New York Federalists as early as 1800, and had been used in that state for constructing a powerful political machine. Pennsylvania had followed New York's example with like results, and other states were falling into line when Jackson was elected. Van Buren was one of the chief advocates and the most able administrator of the system, and through it he had risen to the governorship of his state. When he came to the cabinet he used all his influence to extend the spoils system to national politics. Back of all was the clamor of the people. Many believed that the administration of the government was thoroughly corrupt and that a

general upheaval was desirable; others had been promised positions by party leaders during the campaign.

Jackson undoubtedly believed the political slanders about corruption in government, though they were entirely unfounded. He also considered those who had voted against him his personal enemies, and felt that in order to succeed he must place the responsible offices in the hands of his friends. The tenure-of-office act, passed in 1820 and providing that appointments should be for only four years, greatly assisted in the accomplishment of this purpose, though his predecessors had, with few exceptions, reappointed those whose terms of office expired. The clamor of his political lieutenants and of other radical partisans combined with the other influences to produce a pressure almost too great to resist, and during the first few months of his administration Jackson made more removals from office than all of his predecessors together.[1] Thus was started a policy which, like an avalanche, increased in size and power with its progress until it threatened to overwhelm the nation with disaster. The spoils system is now somewhat restricted by the system of examination for eligibility to office, but the official corruption and maladministration for which it is responsible are yet altogether too extensive, and its injurious effect upon the country is beyond measure.

[1] Washington removed two, one of whom was a defaulter; Adams removed ten; Jefferson, thirty-nine; Madison, five; Monroe, nine, and John Quincy Adams, two.

Removals from office and other measures alienated some of Jackson's followers; these allied themselves with the National-Democrats, so that for a time the administration had only a small majority in Congress.

451. The Creeks and Cherokee.—Jackson's administration inherited an Indian problem that had caused more or less contention ever since the War of 1812. When, in 1802, Georgia ceded to the United States the lands comprising most of the present states of Alabama and Mississippi, the government agreed to extinguish the titles to the lands belonging to the Creeks and Cherokee in the state of Georgia "as early as it could be done practicably and on reasonable terms." At that time the Indians owned twenty-six million acres, or a territory larger than the state of Maine. Within the next seven years the government by treaties had extinguished the title to about fifteen million acres, but the mania for speculation in public lands was rife and the legislature of Georgia considered the operations of the government altogether too slow.

In 1819 the legislature sent a memorial to Congress, charging the government with bad faith. Following this, President Monroe appointed three commissioners to make such a treaty with the Cherokee as would secure their release of the lands within the limits of Georgia. This commission proposed to the Indians that they cede their lands to Georgia and remove beyond the Mississippi, where they should be granted a tract of equal size

and be forever under the protection of the United States. The Indians replied that it was their determination not to cede a single foot of land either to Georgia or to the United States; but they were greatly alarmed at the request and sent a delegation to Washington to beg the government to secure a release from its agreement with Georgia.

WILLIAM LEARNED MARCY

The Creeks were also alarmed and their leading chiefs held a council, at which each agreed not to dispose of land under any conditions and bound themselves by a compact to the effect that any chief violating the agreement should suffer death. Soon after this agreement the same commissioners who met the Cherokee met the Creeks, with like result. But the commission discovered that some of the Creek chiefs could be induced to sell their lands, regardless of the compact; therefore a treaty was concluded with these chiefs by which they sold all

the lands in Georgia belonging to their tribes. When the Indians learned of this treachery the compact was enforced and the guilty chiefs were executed. This started rumors of an Indian uprising, and the people of Georgia became greatly excited. The legislature again complained to the government, and Georgia a second time threatened to take matters into her own hands. Land speculators were in great haste to survey the Cherokee lands to which the state had no title, and the United States troops were sent to the region to protect the Indians. A plan for an Indian territory west of the Mississippi had been prepared during Adams's last term, but it was left for the next administration to perfect.

When Jackson assumed office, the contest had practically narrowed down to the Cherokee alone. These Indians were on the road to civilization. They lived in well-constructed log houses, tilled the land, raised crops of corn, cotton, tobacco, wheat and potatoes, and sold their products in New Orleans. They kept herds of cattle, sheep, horses and other domestic animals, and manufactured coarse varieties of cotton and woolen goods. A number of them owned slaves and one of their number had invented an alphabet of their language. Their government was patterned after that of the United States and they were quietly and industriously developing their country. This undoubtedly was the strongest reason for the desire to have them removed, as the people of Georgia did not wish an Indian empire within

their territory. Consequently, Georgia enacted laws against the Indians, not only grievous in their effects, but directly contrary to the laws of the United States. The state also repeatedly ignored the authority of the national government and violated the decisions of the Supreme Court; yet Jackson did nothing to prevent this, for he was in sympathy with the cause of the Georgians. Finally, in 1834, the Cherokee lands were purchased by the United States for five million dollars and the expenses of removal, and the Indians began their long journey to Indian Territory, where many of their descendants are to-day living in a civilized and prosperous condition.[1]

452. The United States Bank.—That Jackson should be strongly opposed to the United States Bank was not unnatural. Branches of this Bank had been established in many states and these had absorbed the business and hastened the downfall of local and state banks. Since the United States Bank was considered safer than other banks, its branches received the larger deposits. Many of these consisted of bills issued by other banks. As these bills accumulated, each branch presented them to their respective banks for redemption, demanding specie or United States treasury notes. The banks unable to meet these demands were forced to liquidate. Their outstanding bills were thus

[1] The Chickasaw were in the northeast corner of Mississippi and numbered four thousand; the Choctaw, in central Mississippi, numbered twenty-one thousand; the Cherokee numbered thirteen thousand five hundred, and the Creeks, forty thousand. All of these were removed to Indian Territory or disappeared as distinct tribes.

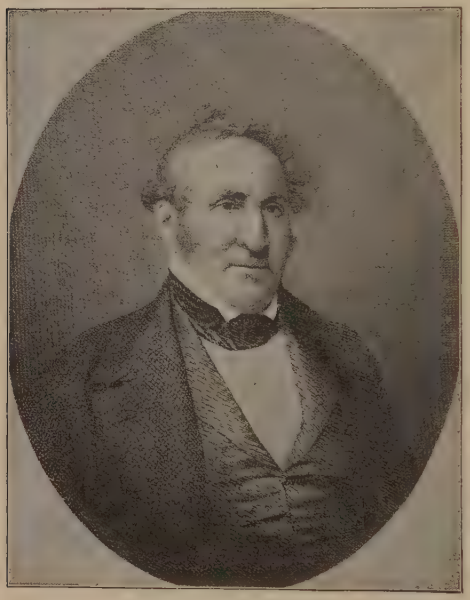
rendered worthless and scores of failures both of banks and of commercial houses followed.

All these disasters were attributed to the United States Bank. Its opponents claimed that the branches pursued their course for the purpose of destroying rival institutions and enriching the stockholders of the United States Bank at the expense of the people. Out of the difficulties in Kentucky arose several suits, which were appealed to the United States Supreme Court, on questions of the constitutionality of laws passed by the state legislature and of the jurisdiction of state courts. In all these cases the decisions were against the state laws and courts. In the aggrieved states these decisions were believed by many to confer unwarranted authority upon the Federal government.

From the first Jackson was an enemy of the Bank. He, with others, believed that its management was dishonest, that its funds were diverted to political purposes and that it was an engine in the hands of the money power for oppressing the poor. In his first message to Congress he inveighed against it and suggested an alternative, though the charter of the Bank would not expire until after the close of his term of office. Kendall, the most influential member of the "kitchen cabinet," had formerly been president of a Kentucky bank which had been compelled to close its doors, as he claimed, through the action of the Kentucky branch. Lewis, another member of this cabinet, had experienced difficulty with

the New Hampshire branch, and both of these men were bent on revenge. To their influence are traceable some of the most hostile measures against the Bank.

Jackson's attitude on this question alienated a large number of his followers, and Clay made the Bank a prominent issue of the campaign of 1832, but Jackson was re-elected by a larger majority than in 1828. Taking his re-election as an endorsement of his views on all public questions, the president immediately began to make preparations for compelling the Bank to wind up its affairs. In 1832 he vetoed a bill for renewing its charter, which was to expire in 1836, and the next year he proceeded to injure it to the fullest extent of his power. The deposits were removed from the United States Bank by a method which in fact did not constitute a removal



THOMAS HART BENTON

in a strict sense at all. No further deposits were made in this Bank, the government funds being placed in state banks, and as money was required by the national government drafts were made upon its account in the United States Bank.

Jackson offered two reasons for this act: First, that the condition of the Bank's affairs was such that the funds of the government were not safe while under its care; and second, that unless this money was removed the Bank would use it in bribing Congress to renew its charter over the president's veto. Concerning the first allegation, a committee of investigation, previously appointed by Congress, had reported that the Bank was in good condition and that the United States deposits were safe. A minority report submitted by the extreme partisans of the committee held the contrary. Of the second allegation there was little more proof, although the Bank had doubtless used its influence to prevent Jackson's election.

The charter of the Bank provided that the secretary of the treasury should remove the deposits if he considered such action necessary, but that he must report to Congress his reasons for so doing. McLane, secretary of the treasury, was opposed to the removal by executive authority and refused to comply with the president's request. Duane of Pennsylvania was appointed his successor. Duane also absolutely refused to remove the deposits, and refused to resign; therefore he was removed. He

was succeeded by Roger B. Taney, and in him Jackson found the tool required.

The removal of deposits compelled the Bank to call in its loans, and was one of the most potent causes of the financial depression that befell the country during the next administration.

The Bank was not wholly guiltless for the misfortune that was brought upon it. Its first attempt to restore the currency of the country to a uniform basis was not well managed, and produced an effect opposite from that desired. Its contract with Western state banks, whereby it agreed to accept their bills in payment for public lands, was another similar error, and it had also made some injudicious loans; but notwithstanding these mistakes the Bank's influence had been beneficial, and under its later management it had been an important agent in redeeming the credit of the country and providing for the payment of the national debt. It deserved well, not ill, at the hands of the government. When Congress met in December the Senate passed a vote of censure upon the president for his action in reference to the Bank. This remained upon the journal of the Senate until the second session of the Thirty-fourth Congress (1836-37), when through the efforts of Jackson's intimate friend, Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, it was expunged.

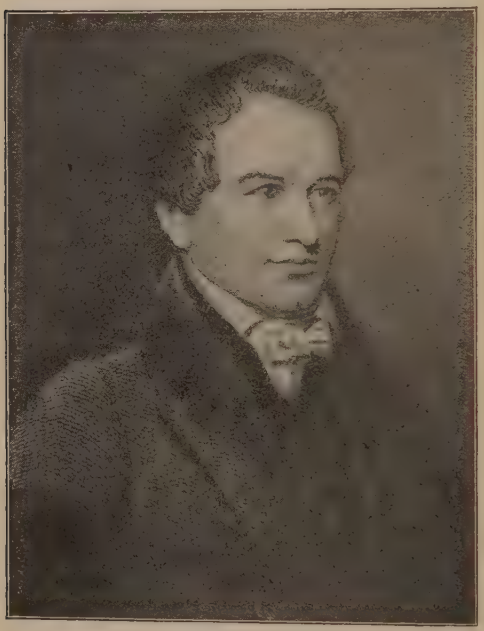
453. Nullification.—1. The Tariff.—In all countries the tariff has formed sectional and class issues. Those

localities and industries which it benefits will uphold it, and those against which it works economic injury will denounce it. The tariff of 1816 was supported by the West and South and by the Middle states. Calhoun was one of its strongest advocates, while Webster was its strongest opponent. After 1824 these great leaders changed sides on this question. Webster, following the sentiment of New England, became the strong advocate of protection as a means of building up a manufacturing industry to replace the shipping interests which seemed to have permanently declined. Calhoun, representing the South, no longer had anxiety for a home market for cotton and other products, since Europe was opening to them a great foreign market. The tariff which protected New England manufactures increased the price of utensils, machinery and clothing to the South. The tariff of 1816 had been slightly raised several times, until the culmination was reached in the "Tariff of Abominations" passed in 1828 (Section 436).[1]

The tariff of 1828 doubtless caused great injustice to the South, whose interests were wholly agricultural; at

[1] By the act of 1816, cotton and woolen goods were placed at a rate of twenty-five per cent for three years, and after that, at twenty per cent. The act of 1824 raised the rate on cotton goods to twenty-five per cent, making it the same as that on woolens. The same act also placed a tariff on wool, ranging from fifteen to thirty per cent, according to grade, and a tariff was at the same time placed upon iron. The act of 1828 advanced all rates very perceptibly and in addition placed practically prohibitive rates on Smyrna wool, iron, hemp and cordage; also on molasses and on the raw material from which rum was manufactured. The purpose of these high rates was to make the bill so objectionable to its advocates that it would be abandoned. However, the bill with all of its defects passed.

the same time the people of the South blindly attributed to the tariff many economic conditions that were due to slavery. The legislatures of the Southern states, with scarcely an exception, declared the tariff act of 1828 unconstitutional and called upon Congress to abandon the entire protective system.



ROBERT Y. HAYNE

2. The Great Debate.–South Carolina went further than any other state in her denunciations, and even before the law had become effective suggested that the proper remedy was its nullification by the state. At that time Robert Y. Hayne was one of the senators from South Carolina, and in 1830, in the course of a debate upon the disposal of public lands, Hayne took occasion to set forth the doctrine of state sovereignty, and declared it to be the right of a state to annul any law of

the national government that she considered detrimental to her interests.

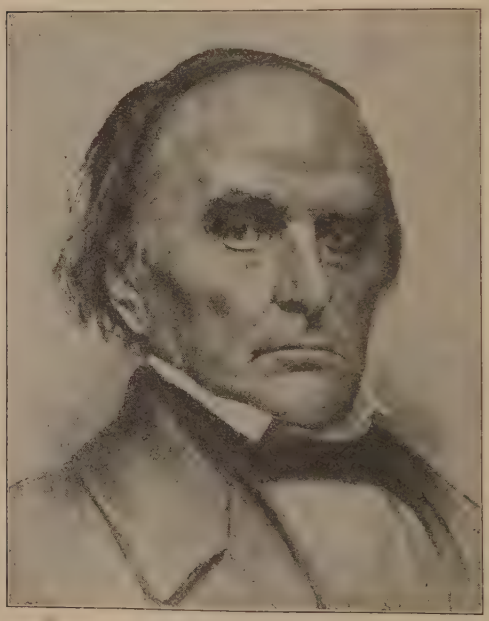
Hayne did not state a new doctrine nor assert a right that had not before been considered. Ever since the adoption of the Constitution, the theory of state sovereignty and secession had been the refuge of the minority.

The Southern states were more generally committed to the doctrine of state sovereignty than were those in the North, but this doctrine had never before been so boldly set forth in Congress, and on the day following Hayne's speech Daniel Webster, then senator from Massachusetts, replied, condemning and refuting the arguments and principles of the South Carolinian. This so angered Hayne that he attacked the Constitution, Webster and New England in a carefully studied and brilliant oration, in which he expressed the sentiments of the entire South. The reply to this oration, generally known as *Webster's Reply to Hayne*, was the most brilliant effort of that great orator's life, and is still regarded as one of the world's greatest orations. In it Webster settled forever, as far as argument and logic could settle it, that the United States was a nation and that the Constitution was the Constitution of the people of the United States, and as such was the supreme law of the land, "anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." [1] The doctrine of state sovereignty,

[1] Constitution of the United States, Art. VI, Clause 3.

however, continued a leading feature in national politics until it led to the Civil War.

3. The South Carolina Ordinance. On the reassembling of Congress the tariff at once became a prominent issue between the free traders and the protectionists, but the parties were so evenly balanced that no immediate action could be secured. It was well known that Calhoun, who was still vice-president, was the leading supporter of the nullification idea, and on November 24, 1832, a special convention in South Carolina issued an ordinance declaring the tariff act of 1828 null and void within that state and forbidding all authorities, state or national, from enforcing the collection of customs. The ordinance further declared that the employment of force by the United States to enforce the laws would be followed by with-



DANIEL WEBSTER

drawal of the state from the Union. This ordinance was to take effect February 1 following its passage. The leading politicians of Virginia, Georgia and Alabama approved the action of the convention and assured South Carolina that in case of her secession their states would join her. North Carolina disapproved the measure.

President Jackson immediately issued a proclamation warning the citizens of South Carolina to comply with the national laws and not be governed by the declaration of the convention. He also dispatched a detachment of troops to Charleston under General Scott, followed by a ship of war. These prompt and decisive actions, together with a compromise tariff measure prepared by Clay and immediately passed by Congress, caused the state at once to recede from her attitude, and the problems arising from actual secession were postponed.[1]

454. Foreign Relations.—The administration was very fortunate in its management of foreign affairs. Early in his first term Jackson was called upon to settle a controversy with Mexico. For several years settlers from the United States had been locating in the portion of Mexico which now forms the state of Texas. These colonists very naturally desired to be under the govern-

[1] The tariff act of 1833 gradually reduced the duties for the next ten years and enlarged the free list. It provided that from all duties of over twenty per cent, by the act of 1832, one-tenth of the excess was to be taken off on September 30, 1835, and another tenth every succeeding year till 1841, and in 1842 the remainder was to be stricken off, so that at the end of that year no duty should exceed twenty per cent.

ment of the United States, and in 1826 the inhabitants of western Texas proclaimed an independent republic with the town Nacogdoches as its capital. The following year the United States tried to purchase the territory, and again in 1829, but without effect. In 1830 Mexico forbade Americans settling in the region. The following year a revolution broke out in Mexico, and when the winning party under Santa Anna tried to extend the government over Texas they were met with armed resistance. In 1836[1] Texas formally declared her independence, and in March of the following year she was recognized by the United States.

THE ALAMO, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

By a new treaty with Great Britain the West Indian trade was again thrown open to American ships, and our proximity to these ports gave the merchants in the

[1] In this year occurred the famous battle at the Alamo Mission in San Antonio, between a company of Texans and Americans under Colonels David Crockett, James Bowie and W. B. Travis and some Mexicans under General Santa Anna. After a bombardment of two weeks the Mexicans captured the fortress, and the few remaining Texans were murdered in cold blood. For the heroism displayed on this occasion the Alamo has been called "the Thermopylae of America."

United States considerable advantage over those of other nations.

In 1830 the French government under Louis Philippe, crowned king as the result of the "Revolution of July" of that year, agreed to pay the United States government five million dollars as an indemnity for depredations upon American shipping during and after the Napoleon régime. When two installments had fallen due and no action had been taken by France, the President sent to Congress a message so vigorous and hostile in its tone that diplomatic relations between the countries were severed for a time. Further trouble, however, was averted by the good offices of Great Britain, and France, together with all other countries that had been under the sway of Napoleon, settled the claims which the United States held against them.

455. Election of Van Buren.—Jackson's two terms had served to organize the Democratic party thoroughly, and at a national convention held in Baltimore they nominated Martin Van Buren, who was Jackson's choice for his successor. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky was nominated for vice-president.

The opposition had chosen the name of *Whigs*. It was composed of a conglomeration of political groups whose one bond of union was their opposition to Jackson. About the organization known as the National-Republican party had gathered many Northern Demo-

crats incensed at Jackson's autocratic methods; others who had been directly affected by his policy of removal from office and who used this occasion to decry Jackson and the spoils system; most important of all, a large body of Southern Democrats whose radical state rights theories had been offended by Jackson's vigorous action against nullification. This last factor in the party was destined to play an important part in future political battles, and in the course of twenty years, returning to the Democratic fold, was to control the councils of that party. These various factions were not fully coalesced, however, and Hugh L. White of Tennessee was at the head of one ticket, while W. H. Harrison was placed on the regular organization ticket. Clay, the natural leader of the party, refused to run for president because he could not reconcile all factions.

SANTA ANNA

The Democrats, besides losing a large following in the

South and West, were weakened by the growth of other small factions and parties.

1. Loco-focos.—A convention of the Democratic party in New York, who were opposed to the high-handed methods of the organization, united under the name of "Equal Rights Men," and at the local convention dispossessed the regular faction of the hall. The regulars turned out the lights, but the others had guarded against such an emergency by providing themselves with candles and loco-foco[1] matches, from which incident they received the name of Loco-focos, which clung to them until they were again absorbed into the regular party. This faction is to be credited with first putting the Democratic party on the platform of sound money, free trade, and opposition to monopolies and to special legislation.

2. The Anti-Masons.—A party, formed by those who were opposed to Free Masons holding public office, had been gaining strength since 1826, and in Pennsylvania united with the Whigs and in New York with the working-men. In Vermont and some other states they also exerted quite an influence, gaining some of the local offices, but they nowhere secured an electoral vote.[2]

[1] The name *loco-foco* was first given to a kind of cigar which had a substance on the end from which it could be lit by friction. The inventor ignorantly applied the term in imitation of the word *locomotive*, supposing it to mean *self-moving*. Afterward it was generally applied to friction matches of all sorts.

[2] The rise of this party was due to the murder of William Morgan, of Batavia, N. Y., who in 1826 was accused of writing a book that revealed the secrets of the Free Masons. Soon after the appearance of this work Morgan was kidnaped and secretly taken to Fort Niagara, which was unoccupied except by

Van Buren and Johnson were elected by a large majority, and upon Van Buren's assuming the duties of office Jackson retired to his home in Tennessee and to private life.

GIRL'S COSTUME
About 1830.

456. Andrew Jackson. — Andrew Jackson was a self-made man. His education was decidedly limited and was of the rudest sort. He possessed an implacable will, perseverance that never recognized failure, and remarkable executive ability. Notwithstanding his rash and arbitrary acts, his popularity continued to increase throughout his administration and his journey homeward was marked by a continuous series of ovations. He was an able administrator, and our most able historians number him among the great presidents of the Republic. Parton thus clearly sets forth the reason for Jackson's popularity:

"Autocrat as he was, Andrew Jackson loved the people, the common people, the sons and daughters of toil, as truly as they loved him, and he believed in them as they believed in him. He was in accord with his generation. He had a clear conception that the toiling millions are not a class in the community. He knew and felt that government should exist only for the benefit of the governed; that the strong are strong only that they may aid the weak; that the rich are rightfully rich only that they may so combine and direct the labors of the poor as to make labor more

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the keeper in charge. After his incarceration in this fort, Morgan was never heard of again. The outrage was laid to the Masons, and the bitter feeling which it aroused against them was widespread.

profitable to the laborer. He did not comprehend these truths as they are demonstrated by Jefferson and Spencer, but he had an intuitive and instinctive perception of them. And in his most autocratic moments he really thought that he was fighting the battle of the people and doing their will while baffling the purposes of their representatives. If he had been a man of knowledge as well as force, he would have taken the part of the people more effectually, and left to his successors an increased power of doing good, instead of better facilities for doing harm." [1]

QUESTIONS

Did Jackson do anything illegal in abolishing cabinet meetings? Why? Have other presidents had "kitchen cabinets"?

In what ways was Jackson's policy of removals from office beneficial? In what ways was it injurious?

Can Georgia's attitude towards the Creeks and Cherokee be justified? If so, on what grounds? Why was Jackson in sympathy with Georgia?

State the benefits derived from the United States Bank. In what ways did the Bank justly bring criticism upon its methods?

What parts of the Constitution distinctly contradict the doctrine of nullification? Why did the doctrine of state sovereignty receive a larger following in the South than in the North?

Explain the reason for the indemnity due the United States from France.

REFERENCES

The student will find satisfactory discussions of this interesting period in any of the following standard works: Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, pp. 23–92; McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, pp. 322–339; Channing's *United States of America*, pp. 208–223. A remarkably clear discussion of the relations of the political parties and leaders is given in Johnston's *American Politics*, pp. 109–132. The relations of the leading actors of this period and the political and personal strife related in this chapter will be found in several volumes in the American Statesmen series; for instance, Sumner's *Andrew Jackson*, pp. 119–386; Schurz's *Henry Clay*, vol. i, pp. 311–383, vol. ii, pp. 1–112; Lodge's *Daniel Webster*, ch. vii; Von Holst's *John C. Calhoun*, pp. 63–183, and Roosevelt's *Thomas H. Benton*, pp. 68–156.

[1] Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson.*

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
The Creek and Cherokee Indian troubles	1802–1834
Election of Jackson; "Tariff of Abominations" passed	1828
Inauguration of the Spoils System	1829
Debate between Webster and Hayne; British West Indian trade secured by treaty; adjustment of French war claims secured	1830
South Carolina ordinance of nullification passed	1832
Compromise tariff measure passed	1833
Termination of United States Bank; Texas recognized as an independent republic; organization of Whig party	1836

CHAPTER XVII

READJUSTMENT

1830-1840

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—In this chapter the results of Jackson's financial policy are set forth. Compare Van Buren's plan with Jackson's, and note the advantages or disadvantages of each. Also try to discover the advantages to the government of the independent treasury over any preceding plans of national finance.

The causes leading to the rise of the Abolitionists should be noted, since from this time forward the slavery question occupied the attention of the nation.

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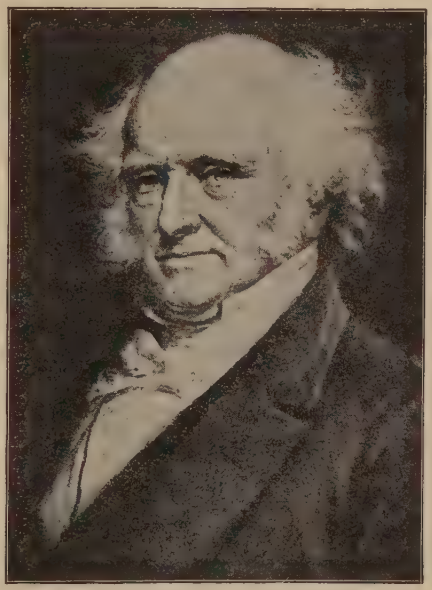
457. A Financial Panic.—The measures by which Jackson had won his general popularity did not prove as beneficial as their advocates anticipated. The president's action against the Bank was followed by two other measures equally disastrous.

1. DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS REVENUE.—The revenues of the country exceeded the expenditures. The national debt had been paid and the administration was opposed to internal improvements by the national government. There were in the treasury about twenty-eight million dollars for which, under these circumstances, the government could find no use. Jackson proposed to distribute all but five million dollars of this among the states as a loan, the amounts being apportioned according to the population of the various

states. The distribution was to take place in four regular installments, and the states were to hold it in trust to be paid back into the treasury when called for. The money was never demanded. This increase in the circulating medium of the country, added to that caused by distributing the United States deposits among the state banks, was followed by another mania of inflation. The closing of the United States Bank without providing any substitute had removed the only uniform method of control over the currency of the country, and new banks which issued bills without limit sprang into existence. As the amount of these bills increased, the relative amount of specie held as security for them correspondingly decreased.

2. The Specie Circular.—The usual period of speculation followed this issue of currency. Government land was purchased in large quantities—in 1834 the sales amounted to less than five million dollars; in 1835 they exceeded fourteen million, and in 1836 they amounted to nearly twenty-five million. The purchasers paid in bills issued by the Western banks, and the treasury was soon in possession of large sums represented by bills of doubtful value. Jackson always believed in sound money, and when he arranged for depositing the United States funds in the various state banks he compelled the banks so favored to keep on hand at least one-third of the value of these deposits in specie. When the results of the inflation of the currency became

evident, and the president saw that the treasury was to be flooded with paper money not amply secured, he took prompt measures to correct the evil. On July 11, 1836, by Jackson's order, the secretary of the treasury issued a circular ordering land agents to accept nothing but gold and silver in payment for public lands.



MARTIN VAN BUREN

This circular was issued without warning, and contrary to the advice of most of the cabinet. The effects were even more disastrous than those following the withdrawal of the United States deposits from the Bank. The entire system of credit was shattered. The demand on the banks for redemption of their bills caused many of these institutions to close their doors, and sadly crippled others. As in the previous period of inflation (Section 423, 4), it was soon discovered that scores of these banks were fraudulent institutions with no capital. The stringency in the money market was increased by our

trade with foreign countries, which since 1832 had necessitated the shipment ahead of considerable amounts of specie. All of these conditions combined to bring on a business depression such as the country had never before witnessed. The panic reached its height soon after Van Buren's inauguration, and it was his misfortune to have the blame cast upon him, though in reality he was in no way responsible.

458. The Sub-Treasury.—President Van Buren called an extra session of Congress early in September. The most significant incident of this session was the proposal of an independent treasury. The "pet banks" had gone down with the others. Specie payments had been suspended, and the government was deprived of its revenue. However, the president stood by the specie circular and adhered closely to the principle of specie payments. In order that his scheme might be successfully accomplished by the government, he announced a plan, carefully prepared by Silas Wright of New York, for the complete and final separation of the government in its financial operations from all banks, state or national. The plan placed the government in all its dealings on a specie basis, and made it the custodian of its own funds, with authority to establish depositories or sub-treasuries wherever necessary.

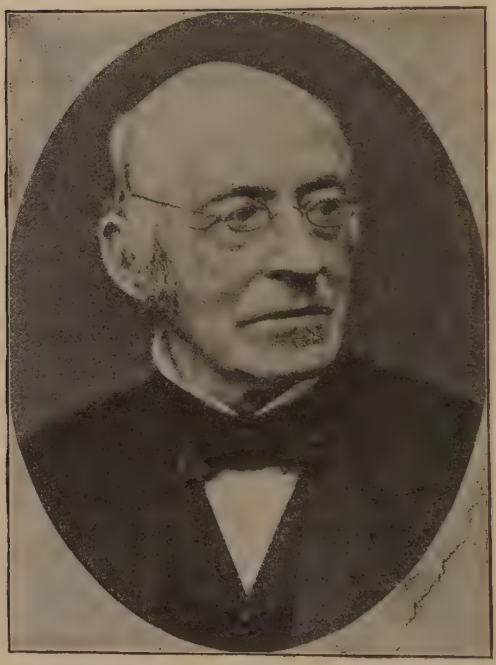
Since this plan did not provide immediate relief for the financial stringency, it met with strong opposition, and the treasury was not established until 1840. The

Whigs abolished it the next year, but were unable to establish another national bank over the president's veto, and in 1846 the independent treasury was again established by the Democrats, and with few alterations it has continued to the present time.

The usefulness of the independent treasury and its adaptation to the varying needs of the country during the many years since its adoption afford ample proof of the wisdom of the measure. Van Buren's refusal to bring government relief to the country seemed at the time harsh, but his policy in the end placed the country on a more permanent financial basis than would have been secured through any measure of relief that might have been adopted. Each time the United States Bank was chartered it was a necessity, but before 1836 the country had outgrown that necessity and the time had arrived when the government's financial matters could stand alone. Jackson's great error in dealing with the Bank was in compelling it to wind up its affairs so suddenly and in such a way as to invite an inflation of currency over which the government could have no control.

Congress provided for the issue of treasury notes to an amount not exceeding ten million dollars, and adjourned. In 1838 the banks began gradually to resume specie payments, and New York passed a general banking law. Previous to this all banks were established by special legislative charters. This law enabled any corporation

conforming to its requirements to establish a bank, and placed all banks on the same basis. The experience of the country during the panic of 1837 led to a general movement in favor of more stringent banking laws. Many states adopted general laws and became more strict in their supervision of banks.

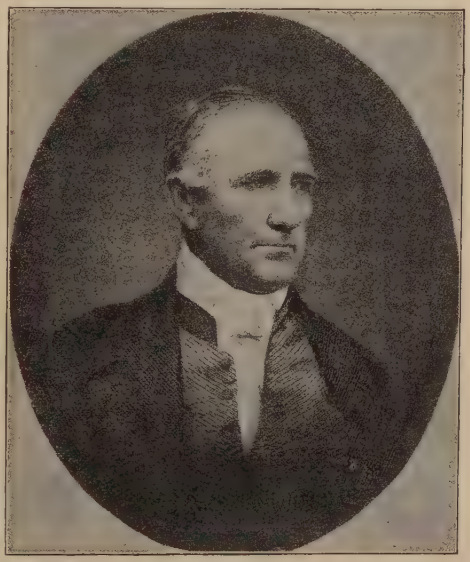


WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

459. Rise of the Abolitionists.—1. INCENDIARY MAIL MATTER.—Ever since the Missouri Compromise there had been a growing sentiment in the North against slavery,[1] and numerous local societies, having for their purpose the abolition of this institution, were organized. These societies began to send to the South circulars which the slaveholders claimed were intended to incite the

[1] For a connected history of slavery, see Chapter XX.

negroes to insurrection. In 1830, through the efforts of William Lloyd Garrison and Benjamin Lundy, the societies received a strong impetus, and thereafter became more and more active. In 1831 Garrison began publishing the *Liberator*, which developed into the national organ of the anti-slavery agitators. As the work of these societies became more aggressive, the slaveholders of the South became more alarmed and also more indignant.



SAMUEL HOUSTON
[From an engraving by W. J. Edwards, after an old daguerreotype.]

In 1835 complaint was made to the postmaster-general by the postmasters of Charleston, Savannah and other leading cities of the South, that the incendiary circulars of the abolition societies ought not to be sent through the mails. Jackson brought the matter before Congress, with strong recommendations for suppressing the circulars and inflicting punishment upon those who sent them. The pro-slavery faction were unable to secure

passage of the desired law, but on an order from the postmaster-general the Southern postmasters thereafter excluded this matter from the mails.

Incensed by the attitude of the president, the Abolitionists in 1838 took up the cry that no slaveholder ought to be president, and doubtless Jackson's action in regard to the mails strengthened their alarm. While as yet these societies were not very numerous, in several states they controlled enough votes to seriously affect the coming national election, and the political leaders of both parties were somewhat disconcerted by the situation.

2. Texas.—At about this time Texas, under the guidance of her American leaders, among them Sam Houston, applied for admission into the Union, though she was still at war with Mexico. The representatives and senators from the South saw in her annexation an opportunity to extend slave territory, and advocated immediate admission. Most of the Whigs, who at the last Congressional election had made great gains, and the Democrats opposed to the expansion of slavery, united and prevented favorable action upon this request.

3. The Right of Petition.—Since 1831 the abolition societies and other organizations opposed to slavery had been sending petitions to the House of Representatives. Many of these came to John Quincy Adams, who never failed to present them. As the petitions increased in

length and number, the pro-slavery faction was incensed at what it considered a continuous affront. In 1836 the House, under the leadership of prominent Southern members, adopted a resolution to the effect (1) that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery in any state; (2) that Congress ought not to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia; (3) "that all petitions, memorials, resolutions or papers relating in any way, to any extent whatsoever, to the subject of slavery or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be taken thereon."

OSCEOLA

The third part of the resolution, later known as the "gag rule," was in direct violation of the Constitution and of the rules of the House; yet it remained effective until 1844. During the eight years that it was in force Mr. Adams almost single-handed contended against it at

each session of Congress, and finally triumphed, after a contest lasting for eleven consecutive days, in which he won one of the most signal parliamentary victories in history.

This attitude of Southern members towards rights guaranteed the people by the Constitution proved to be exceedingly unwise, as it served to incite the anti-slavery faction to ever-increasing effort, and caused the abolition movement to become formidable before the end of Van Buren's term.

COLONEL TAYLOR AT OKEECHOBEE
[From an old engraving.]

460. Indian Disturbances.—1. The Seminole War.—During Jackson's administration the Seminole of Florida had signed an agreement similar to that made with the Creeks and Cherokee, whereby they were voluntarily to remove to Indian Territory. By the terms of the agreement one-third were to be removed in 1833, one-third in 1834 and the remainder in 1835. These Indians lived in the southern part of Florida, and much of their territory was an impenetrable swamp. Among them were many escaped slaves and some negroes whom the

Seminole held as slaves. The slaveholding states were particularly anxious for the removal of these Indians, as their departure would destroy a very convenient rendezvous for runaway slaves; but the Indians refused to remove, and in 1835, when they thought that force was to be used against them, arose under their chief, Osceola, and massacred the Indian agent and the garrison by which he was guarded. This brought on a border warfare which lasted until 1842, entailing much suffering upon the inhabitants of Florida and great expense upon the country. The American troops were commanded by Colonel Zachary Taylor, who gained an important victory at Okeechobee in 1837. This war became very unpopular in the North, as it was considered by many to be waged purely in the interests of the slaveholding states.

2. The Black Hawk War.—Another Indian disturbance of importance occurred at about the same time in the Northwest, where Black Hawk, a powerful chief of the Sac Indians, organized resistance to the aggressions of the white settlers of Wisconsin and Illinois. On several occasions the Sacs and Foxes had agreed to cede their lands east of the Mississippi to the United States government, and in 1823 had retired across the river into Iowa and Minnesota, but when the whites began to occupy the former Indian territory, Black Hawk, who had always been hostile to the United States government, recrossed the Mississippi with a

band of followers and maintained more or less successful warfare against the intruders from June, 1831, to August, 1832, when he was captured.[1]

461. Trouble with Canada.—Of a more serious nature, however, was the insurrection in Canada in 1837, in which citizens of northern and western New York took part. Volunteers from Buffalo, under the leadership of one McKenzie, a Canadian leader of the insurrection, seized Navy Island in Niagara River, belonging to Canada, and there established a military camp. Here, in the course of a few weeks, several hundred men, most of them Americans, gathered for the purpose of invading Canada. Meantime, the Canadian forces seized and destroyed the *Caroline*, a boat

BLACK HAWK

[1] He was afterwards released and died in 1838 on a reservation near Fort Des Moines.

belonging to the rebels, while she was at a port on the American shore. This invasion of the territory of the United States by the Canadian forces caused considerable excitement for a time, as did the gathering of forces upon Navy Island. General Scott, with several companies of militia, was sent to the locality, whereupon the rebels disbanded and the difficulty was happily adjusted. The president's statesmanlike conduct of the affair cost him the vote of New York in the succeeding election.

QUESTIONS

Why is a sudden increase in the amount of money circulating in the country injurious? What was the immediate effect of the distribution of the surplus revenue?

How could the disasters following the abolition of the United States Bank have been avoided?

Can the specie circular be justified? If so, on what grounds? What would have been the probable result had no such measure been taken?

What were the advantages to the government of an independent treasury instead of a national bank? Why did Congress delay its approval of the bill establishing the treasury? Did the Whigs have any sound reasons for opposing the treasury scheme?

Why was Jackson's attitude towards sending abolition circulars through the mails unwise? In what way did the action against petitions by the representatives from the slave states injure their cause?

REFERENCES

The political events of Van Buren's administration are well treated in Johnston's *American Politics*, ch. xiv; also in Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, ch. iv, and McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, pp. 339–348. The personal controversies of the period are discussed in considerable detail in several volumes of the American Statesmen series, especially Shepard's *Martin Van Buren*, Sumner's *Andrew Jackson*, chs. xiv, xv, and xvi, and Schurz's *Henry Clay*, vol. ii, pp. 113–151.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Rise of the Abolitionists	1830
Liberator first published	1831
Black Hawk War	1831–1832
Distribution of the surplus revenue	1834
Anti-slavery circulars excluded from the mail	1835
The Seminole War	1835–1842
Right of petition abridged	1836
Specie circular issued	July 11, 1836
Independent treasury proposed	Sept., 1836
Insurrection in Canada	1837
Establishment of independent treasury	1840

CHAPTER XVIII

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES

1830-1844

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—Discover the causes leading to the remarkable national development that characterized the decade, and determine why the changes occurred at that time. The intellectual and moral awakening of the nation should receive special attention. Is there any relation between this development and the popularity that characterized the Whigs' campaign?

In the sudden rise and equally sudden downfall of the Whigs there is an important political lesson that should be remembered. No party has ever continued in power for long unless it has had definite and positive policies and has followed them with singleness of purpose.

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462. Introductory.—The Jackson-Van Buren régime was in power during a period of critical and far-reaching change in social, economic and intellectual institutions and ideals, and in political parties and principles. The spirit of progress and enterprise which in the course of a century was to produce such wonderful results in every field of activity was already exhibiting itself in a commercial, inventive and intellectual awakening such as had never before been witnessed in America. In political life the spirit found expression in two strangely different ways —in a critical discontent with present men and measures on the one hand, and unthinking enthusiasm for new leaders and ideas on the other. Thus, in the spirit underlying the economic and intellectual changes described in the following sections, rather than in those events and

changes themselves, is to be found the cause of the political upheaval which accompanied them.

Progress

463. Material Development.—In 1840 the country's population was seventeen million, having increased nearly four million during ten years. About all of the land east of the Mississippi had been taken up by settlers, and the greatest increase in population had occurred in the new states. In 1836 Iowa had ten thousand five hundred inhabitants; four years later she had forty-three thousand. By 1835 Ohio had nearly a million, and during the decade the population of Michigan increased from thirty thousand to two hundred twelve thousand. These are fair illustrations of the rapid settlement of the prairie states. Two states had been admitted to the Union—Michigan in 1836, and Arkansas in 1837; thus the equality of the free and the slave states in the Senate was still preserved.

BALTIMORE CLIPPER
A ship designed in America and first built about 1843.

The factory system, which was fully established by 1830, grew rapidly during this decade. In 1830 there were about eight hundred factories in the country

engaged in the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods, and by 1840 this number had increased to over twelve hundred. The steam engine was employed for the operation of machinery, and this removed the necessity of locating factories on streams. New towns sprang up, many of the older ones grew into cities and all of the large cities increased in population. During this decade Chicago became prominent. The city was laid out in 1830. Three years later it was a town of five hundred fifty inhabitants and the publication of a newspaper was begun. In 1837 it had increased to over four thousand inhabitants, and from that time on its growth was rapid. While other towns in the West did not increase in population so rapidly as Chicago, many of them during the decade made very material gains in population.

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE

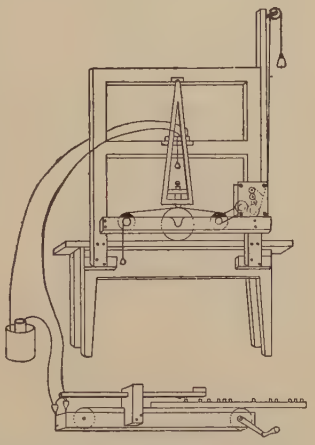
This was likewise the first period of railway construction. In 1830 there were but twenty-six miles of railway completed in the country, and before Harrison's inauguration there were over three thousand miles. The development of the railways did not consist merely in the extension of their lines. It included the construction of American locomotives and cars especially adapted to the railways of the country, and before the close of the decade trains were moving longer distances and at higher speed than in 1830 was deemed possible. The first street railway in the country was introduced into New York in 1830.

Steamboats had multiplied on all inland lakes and rivers. Before 1840 a regular line of eight boats was running between Chicago and Buffalo, stopping at Detroit, Mackinac and other important lake ports. Steamers were also numerous along the Atlantic coast. In 1837 Ericsson built the screw propeller for steam navigation, and thereby made the modern steamer possible. The following year the first vessel crossed the Atlantic by the use of steam power alone. The time required was fourteen and one-half days, the shortest voyage then on record. Previous to this, boats using both steam and sails were found in nearly all waters and the invention of the propeller caused their use to be rapidly extended.

In 1836 coal was first used in the production of steam and in the manufacture of steel. Soon afterward

Nasmyth of England invented the steam hammer. These steps led to marked progress in the manufacture of steel and made it possible to provide in a measure for the constantly increasing demand for this metal in railway and steamship construction.

An invention whose influence upon the world has been second to none was that of the electric telegraph by Professor Samuel F. B. Morse of New York, in 1835. Professor Morse obtained his patent in 1840, and the first line was erected between Baltimore and Washington and completed in 1844.[1]

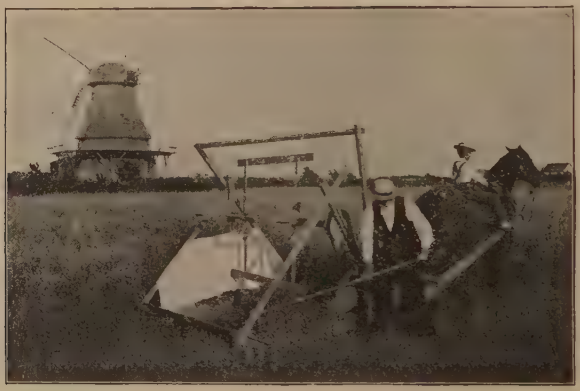


THE FIRST TELEGRAPH INSTRUMENT
[After drawing of the original model.]

In 1838 Cyrus McCormick invented a reaper drawn by horses. This machine made it possible to harvest large fields of grain, and led to extensive farming throughout the prairie states. The agricultural possibilities thus

[1] Professor Morse's attention was first attracted to the telegraph by the discoveries of Professor Joseph Henry, who found that he could instantly magnetize and demagnetize a piece of iron by first passing an electric current through a coil of wire wound around the iron, then breaking the circuit. Morse worked out his invention and made the drawings for his models during a homeward voyage from Europe. He was assisted in perfecting his instruments by Mr. Alfred Vail, who was a skillful mechanic. Congress was slow in recognizing the utility of the telegraph, and for several years refused an appropriation for the construction of a trial line. The first message, over the Baltimore-Washington line, was sent by Miss Annie Ellsworth, daughter of the commissioner of patents. It was, *What hath God wrought?*

opened to settlers offset, in a measure, the tendency of factory systems to crowd the cities. As a result of the growth of inventions and industries, business was soon conducted on a larger scale. The formation of canal and railway corporations led to similar combinations for carrying on manufactures and commerce. The working men, finding that their employers were no



ORIGINAL McCORMICK REAPER
One of the first machines constructed.

longer individuals, but companies in which the personal interest of the employer in the employe was lost, organized more thoroughly for their own protection, and the conflict between capital and labor began. The even division of the rewards of labor and capital disappeared as corporations increased, and before the end of the decade, sharp distinctions established on a property basis were beginning to appear.

464. Intellectual Awakening.—The decade also witnessed a decided intellectual awakening, fully as remarkable as that in mechanical and industrial lines.

1. Literature. — The literary development first prophesied in the work of Cooper, Irving and Bryant culminated at this time in a truly national literature of high excellence.

EDGAR ALLAN POE

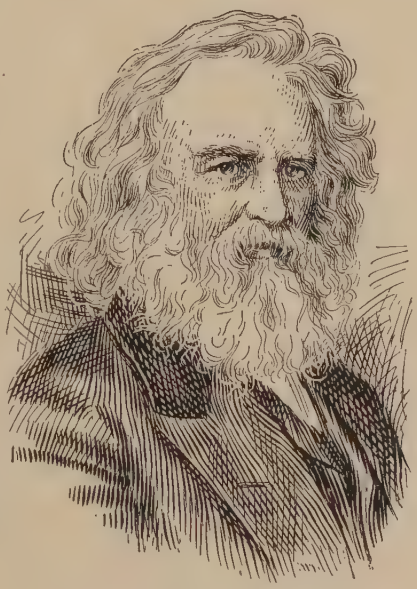
One of its earliest and most remarkable exponents was Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849), whose life is probably the saddest in the annals of American literature. Reared by foster parents amid luxury and high associations, he was not trained to ideals of self-reliance and self-denial, and suffered through life from pride, restlessness and lack of self-control. This tendency culminated in habits of drunkenness and dissolute living, which alienated his friends, stifled his ambition and embittered his life. As a writer,

Poe combined remarkable power of intellectual analysis with a deep poetical imagination. In his prose works both are brought skillfully into play. His plots and incidents are filled with harrowing realism, yet are so deftly softened with imaginative touches that the interest is held tense from beginning to end. Among his best-known stories of mystery, horror and adventure are *The Murders of the Rue Morgue, The Gold Bug, MS. Found in a Bottle, The Pit and the Pendulum, The Black Cat, Masque of the Red Death* and *The Fall of the House of Usher.* In his poetry the same analytic character appears, the same imaginative beauty, and with these a dreamy, musical rhythm, which in his best work is charming. Representative poems are *The Raven, The Bells, Israfel, The Haunted Palace* and *Annabel Lee.* The final stanza of the last named will give an idea of the mystic, lyrical quality pervading all his poems:

"For the moon never beams, without bringing me dreams
Of the beautiful Annabel Lee;
And the stars never rise, but I feel the bright eyes
Of the beautiful Annabel Lee;
And so, all the night-tide, I lie down by the side
Of my darling,—my darling,—my life and my bride,
In her sepulcher there by the sea,
In her tomb by the sounding sea."

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882), perhaps the best known of American poets, was one of the most attractive figures in American literature—scholarly, genial, sympathetic. His life was one of

contentment and affection, and though twice darkened by terrible bereavements, was filled with sweetness and charity to the end. Though Longfellow was the author of two prose romances which are still remembered, it is through his poetry that he is best known. It is always noble in sentiment, hopeful and cheerful in spirit and usually beautiful in form. Occasionally, however, he allowed his lines to grow heavy with moralizing and philosophy. Among his long poems are *Evangeline*, the story of the exile of the Acadians; *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, a delightful picture of early Plymouth; *Hiawatha*, the tale of an Indian legendary hero. Many of his short poems are almost equally famous: *A Psalm of Life, A Rainy Day, The Village Blacksmith, The Building of the Ship, The Golden Legend, The Children's Hour, Children* and *Stars of the Summer Night.*



HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

John Greenleaf Whittier (1809–1892), "the Quaker poet," was a representative of rural New England,

descended from a line of ministers, all of them dissenters and many of them Quakers. He loved Nature and lived much in solitude or among his immediate family and old friends. He was always sweet, gentle and charitable, but had deep views and strong opinions.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

At first inclined to a political career, he soon abandoned his ambition in that direction and espoused the unpopular anti-slavery cause, for which he wrote continuously until the reforms were accomplished, becoming known as the anti-slavery poet. Aside from his earnest and moving appeals for the slaves, notable among which are *To Faneuil Hall, Massachusetts to Virginia* and *The Slave Ships*, he wrote many poems of real beauty and interest. Among the best of these are his admirable ballads, *Maud Muller* and *Telling the Bees*, the latter probably the best of all his works and hardly equaled in American literature. Other

excellent examples of his shorter works are *The Barefoot Boy, In School Days, Barbara Frietchie* and *Skipper Ireson's Ride.* Perhaps his best-known and most representative poem is *Snowbound,* a New England idyll, full of the homeliness, comfort and simplicity of country life.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

James Russell Lowell (1819–1891), known both as essayist and poet, was a Puritan by descent, but a modern American by instinct. His work ranged through the whole field of authorship—literary criticism, political and philosophical essays, poems of fancy, description, Nature and satire. In each of these fields, though not always successful, he achieved work of decided and lasting value. As a poet of Nature he will probably rank above all other American writers. Notable examples of his work in this field are *An Indian Summer Reverie, To the Dandelion, Under the Willows* and the *Prelude to the Vision of Sir Launfal.* His satire upon the lit-

erary men of his time, known as *A Fable for Critics*, and the *Biglow Papers*, a political satire in a broadly humorous vein, are among his best-known and withal his best works. His *Ode Recited at the Harvard Commemoration* is a dignified and noble expression of lofty patriotism, and has many passages of deep scholarly feeling and charming beauty. It contains probably the most eloquent eulogy of Lincoln that has been written in verse. His literary essays, published under the title *Among My Books* and *My Study Windows*, are scholarly and generally just estimates of the leading figures in the literary world of the nineteenth century. His political addresses, especially *Democracy* and *Abraham Lincoln*, display deep insight, thorough knowledge and perfect sincerity.

JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY

Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864) was the greatest of American novelists and has been called "one of the

few great literary artists of the century." During the period of his best authorship he lived much alone, reflecting upon life and its many phases and problems. This secluded life gave to some of his works a somber and mysterious air, making them resemble somewhat the work of Poe, though lacking the morbid gloom which surrounds the latter's most characteristic stories. Hawthorne's first published work was a romance, *Fanshawe*, and was almost an utter failure, but with the publication of *Twice Told Tales* (1837–1842), his success and fame had their beginning. Then followed *Mosses from an Old Manse*, *The Scarlet Letter*, *The House of the Seven Gables*, *Wonder Book*, *The Blithedale Romance*, *Tanglewood Tales* and *The Marble Faun*. These, though of very uneven quality, served to deepen and strengthen his fame as a romancer and idealist. *The Scarlet Letter*, his first real success, is the best, being a faithful picture

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

of New England colonial life and manners, with an interesting view of the ideals and motives of that time. Of the rest, *The Marble Faun* is probably the best. In all his work Hawthorne was devoted to themes of superstition, mystery and magic, and about these his characters and plots invariably move.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–1894) had ambition to be a really great poet, but achieved his most important work in prose. As a doctor of medicine he attained a fair practice and was a man of superior attainments in his profession. As a lecturer in Dartmouth and Harvard colleges he was extremely popular and achieved a high reputation for knowledge of special branches of medicine. He first attracted attention in literary circles by the publication of his *Old Ironsides*, a protest against the destruction of the battle-scarred frigate *Constitution*. His real fame

began with the publication of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1857. From that day to his death he continued to win success and confirmed, if not increased, his reputation for original, keen, sparkling wit and satire, mingled with philosophy of a cheerful, optimistic vein. The scheme of his *Breakfast Table* series centers about a boarding-house table, at which the conversation is dominated by a man of rare humor and good sense. In his novels Holmes was less successful, though two are still read, *Elsie Venner* and *The Guardian Angel*. His best poetic works are in a different vein from his prose, being more serious and reflective. *The Chambered Nautilus* and *The Last Leaf* are delightful —the first, for the beauty of its form as well as its noble sentiment; the second, for its quaint, cheerful philosophy phrased in charming verse. His lighter but less striking works, *The One Hoss Shay*, *Dorothy Q.* and *The*

CONCORD BRIDGE
Over the Concord River, a favorite haunt of Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau and other New England authors.

Broomstick Train, are exceedingly attractive. As a writer of occasional poems he was a master.

It is perhaps hardly correct to include among American literary men Henry D. Thoreau (1817–1862), whose place is secure among the great students and lovers of

HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES, SALEM
The house of which Hawthorne wrote his famous romance with the above title.

Nature, but he won recognition in purely literary fields by original and attractive writing. Such books as *Walden, Excursions, The Maine Woods* and *Early Spring in Massachusetts* deserve to be read as well for the charm and beauty of their outward form as for the accuracy

of observation and deep sympathy with Nature which they disclose.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) typifies better than any of his contemporaries the literary and philosophical spirit of his time, and his countrymen have long considered him the foremost figure in American literary history. By nature deeply spiritual, by training sincerely religious and by environment almost compelled to become broad and liberal in his views, Emerson so combined with these qualities a sweet and noble character that, by his teachings and example, he deeply impressed his mind and heart upon the generation with which he lived. He preached in a Unitarian pulpit until he could no longer endure the restraints even of its liberal creed, and thereafter devoted himself to the lecture platform, then at the height of its power and usefulness. Emerson's philosophy was idealistic in na-

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

ture. He believed that only mind is real; that all natural forms are but the expression of the spiritual world. He believed in the oneness of the spirit of God and the human soul, considering God to be but the transcendent source of all being. His philosophy was not entirely original, but by him was given a deep spiritual and moral significance which was of great value to his age. It led to emphasis upon such necessary ideals as self-reliance and independence, and summoned the American genius to strive for the attainment of its own ends rather than to slavishly follow European teachings. Emerson's style was often disjointed and uneven, lacked unity and continuity and oftentimes logical order, but it was always incisive, direct, earnest and sincere. His best essays are those upon *Nature*, *The*

GEORGE BANCROFT

Conduct of Life, New England Reformers, Representative Men, Self-Reliance, The American Scholar, Compensation and *The Over-Soul.* His poetry has many of the same qualities as his prose. He had little regard for form, but in a few poems he rose to truly great heights of expression as well as of sentiment. There are few more admirable poems in American literature than his *The Humble-Bee, Threnody, The Snow Storm, The Concord Hymn,* and *Days,* and in a deeper, more philosophical vein, *The Sphinx* and *The Problem.*

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

Other more or less distinguished writers were working at this time, among them John G. Saxe, Alice and Phoebe Cary, William Gilmore Simms, R. H. Dana, Samuel Longfellow, a brother of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, R. H. Dana, Jr., the author of a thrilling sea story, *Two Years Before the Mast,* Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel), author of *Reveries of a Bachelor* and

Dream Life, E. P. Whipple, W. W. Story and J. G. Holland.

Several historians were also writing works of permanent importance: George Bancroft (1800–1891), whose *History of the United States* is probably the most complete history of the country extant; W. H. Prescott (1796–1859), who, in spite of partial blindness, produced three excellent volumes, *Ferdinand and Isabella, The Conquest of Mexico* and *The Conquest of Peru;* John Lothrop Motley (1814–1877), whose *Rise of the Dutch Republic* and *History of the United Netherlands* are brilliant and dramatic descriptions of the Dutch struggle for liberty, and Francis Parkman (1823–1893), who, in a large series of works, depicted in a fascinating style the history of France in America.

ASA GRAY

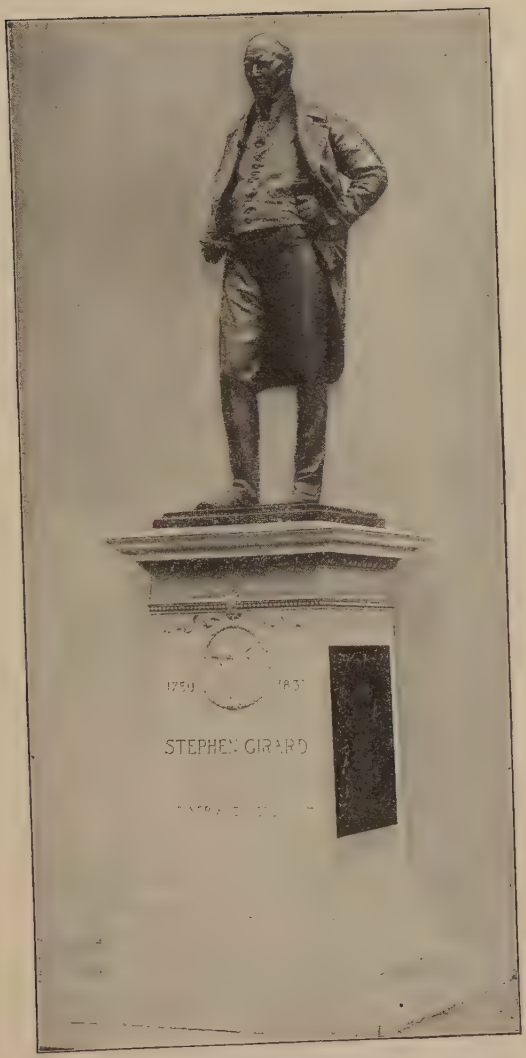
In oratory also America kept well to the front. In the pulpit were William Ellery Channing (1780–1842),

a conservative Unitarian; Theodore Parker (1810–1860), a radical Unitarian, and Henry Ward Beecher (1813–1887), a liberal Congregationalist, all men of powerful personality and persuasive eloquence, and the last, probably the greatest pulpit orator and lecturer of the century. In Congress, Calhoun, Clay and Webster still battled for supremacy. A large group of orators were making their influence felt, not only in the law and academic lines, but in the field of reform. Among these Rufus Choate, Edward Everett, Wendell Phillips, the orator of the abolition cause, and George William Curtis, scholar, essayist, orator and reformer, stand foremost. Kent's commentaries on law were completed by 1830, and between 1830 and 1838 Justice Story made his great contributions to legal literature. At the same time Wheaton was completing his *Elements of International Law;* Carey had already published his *Right of Wages* and *Principles of Political Economy;* Audubon, perhaps America's greatest naturalist, had begun his works on natural history, and Asa Gray, one of the world's great botanists, had published his first volume of essays.

2. The Press.—Newspapers not only multiplied, but took on a new form. Leading New York journals combined in employing swift dispatch boats or pony expresses between that city and Washington, thereby securing the news much earlier than it could be obtained through the mails. The old sheet with its stilted essays and long editorials disappeared before such papers as

the *Sun* and *Herald* in New York, pioneers of modern journalism. During the campaign of 1840, Horace Greeley started the *Log Cabin*, which, the year following, was merged into the New York *Tribune*, and became one of the most influential organs of the country. This was particularly the period of letter-writing. Correspondence was very general and extensive; but postage stamps did not appear until some years later. The number of post offices had increased to thirteen thousand five hundred, and the yearly income of the department exceeded four and one-half million dollars. Everywhere life had taken on that impatience and haste which are still national characteristics.

3. Philanthropy.—The rapid material growth of the country and the general intellectual awakening led to the development of a generous public spirit, which found expression in privately endowed educational institutions. Foremost among the early philanthropists were Peter Cooper of New York, who, after phenomenal success as merchant, inventor and manufacturer, established and endowed Cooper Institute in New York, for the purpose of encouraging and assisting others to achieve success; and Stephen Girard, a shipowner, merchant and banker, who during life more than once came to the aid of the government in times of financial crises, and at his death established in Philadelphia Girard College, a home and school for orphans, planned and maintained upon liberal and practical lines.



STEPHEN GIRARD

A statue by J. Massey Rhind, erected by the city of Philadelphia at the west front of the City Hall.

465. Social and Moral Reforms.—The idea of liberty had extended from political to social and religious life. Societies for the education of the blind and the deaf and dumb were formed, and in some states institutions for these purposes had been established at state expense. Numerous institutions for the care of orphans and other unfortunates were also established. These movements were undoubtedly hastened by the philanthropic movements in England, where Catholic emancipation had been effected and the first reform bill passed. The abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire in 1833 also gave great encouragement to the anti-slavery movement in the United States. The influence of John Howard and his work had also reached this country,

PETER COOPER

and there was a general and systematic attempt to improve the prisons and reform the prisoners.

Drunkenness had become one of the greatest national curses and now affected all classes of society. Brandy occupied a prominent place on the table of every hotel and was drunk as freely as water. Religious gatherings were often held in barrooms, and before commencing the service the preacher frequently refreshed himself with liquors, with the entire approval of his congregation. The rapid spread of this vice and its attendant evils gave rise to the organization of temperance societies. Before 1840 this temperance movement had accomplished excellent results. Religious revivals, especially in the rural districts, were frequent, fervent and often far-reaching in their effect. Schools, colleges and museums multiplied, and the Smithsonian Institute was founded, by the will of James Smithson, for the purpose of encouraging research and diffusing knowledge.

People were generally credulous, and absurd socialistic and religious ideas found numerous adherents. Even scientific men were beguiled into believing the most ridiculous statements. The presence of monstrous sea serpents was reported. A New York paper published an account of what purported to be a discovery by Professor Herschell, the English astronomer, that the moon was inhabited by people having wings and resembling angels in appearance. The account attracted

the serious attention of numerous scientific men of the country.

The Mormons appeared in 1830, their belief being based on the doctrines published by Joseph Smith, who claimed to have received them through revelation. The church was organized in the western part of New York, thence removed to Kentland, Ohio, and from there to Independence, Mo. Driven from Independence by a mob, the Mormons removed to Illinois, where they established the town of Nauvoo. Here again their practice of polygamy caused them to be disturbed. Several of the leaders were arrested, and in a riot Smith was killed. The Mormons then removed to Utah, and established Salt Lake City, but their emigration was not completed till 1848.[1]

FRANCIS PARKMAN

[1] Smith was imaginative and superstitious, and had but little education. He claimed that his revelation came through a vision in which an angel of the Lord appeared to him. In the second vision, the angel disclosed the hiding-place of the plates of gold upon which the Book of Mormon was asserted to have

A Whig Triumph and Defeat

466. Rise of the Whigs.—The greatest magnetic force of the Democratic party during Jackson's administration was Jackson himself. His personality and influence dominated the party from center to circumference. The qualities which made him a leader were notably lacking in his successor; neither was there any one who could take his place. Throughout the country Jackson's assumption of authority and summary methods had had great influence, and men generally were disposed to follow in his footsteps. This led to independence of action, hostility to opposition, and, in political matters, to frequent riots. This spirit was far from beneficial to the Democrats, since it tended to disintegrate the party, a condition which the leaders of the Whigs were quick to recognize.

RUFUS CHOATE

been written. Smith claimed to have obtained the Book by translating these tablets.

Again, all the financial difficulties were attributed to the party in power, and Van Buren's refusal to sanction measures of relief, coupled with his independent treasury scheme, gave the Whigs a strong advantage. Another cause of dissatisfaction with the government was the evil effects arising from the wholesale removal from office. Many of Jackson's appointees were incompetent, and several of them proved to be dishonest. The collector of the port of New York had defrauded the government of over a million dollars during Jackson's term, and his peculations were not discovered till the succeeding administration. That he was speedily brought to justice by Van Buren had no apparent effect upon the people, who considered the administration responsible for the theft. Several other similar instances occurred.

Furthermore, Van Buren was a man of refined tastes. When he entered the White House he restored the social customs that had prevailed previous to Jackson's time and conducted the executive mansion in a manner compatible with the dignity of his position as the head of the nation. In this he did nothing more than what good judgment dictated; yet these changes, combined with his reserve of manner, gave demagogues an opportunity to raise the cry that the president was an aristocrat. When this idea was once advanced, it rapidly gained credence among the people. To this was joined the feeling which the Whigs had fostered, that the executive was continuing to exercise unwarranted

authority, and, like Jackson, was arrogating to himself powers that distinctly belonged to Congress.

Finally, slavery was for the first time to exert a perceptible influence in national elections. The more radical of the anti-slavery agitators banded together and formed the Liberty party. Each made nominations for president and vice-president, but gained no electoral votes. Other anti-slavery sympathizers joined the Whigs because Van Buren had lost control of his party, and the Democrats were fast drifting into the power of the pro-slavery faction of the South. Politically, all conditions worked together against the administration.

467. The Nominations.—The Whigs met in national convention at Harrisburg, Pa., December 4, 1839. In their search for the most available man, they set aside Clay and Webster, the great leaders of the party, and chose General William Henry Harrison of Ohio. For vice-president, John Tyler of Virginia was nominated, simply because he could poll a large number of votes in the South, having been long a strong Southern Democrat, though more recently a leader of the Southern wing of the Whigs (Section 455). The Whigs adopted no platform, but when they went before the country the following spring it was generally accepted that they stood for the following principles:

(1) The rescue of the government from the unwarrantable assumption of legislative power by the executive, by means of the modification of the veto, the reduction

of patronage, a rigid supervision of all executive offices by Congress and free legislative debate and legislative comment on the conduct of all public officers.

(2) The maintenance of a protective tariff.

(3) The reëstablishment of the United States Bank.

(4) The construction of internal improvements by the national government.

The Democratic convention met in May following, and adopted a "strict construction" platform, denying the power of Congress to construct internal improvements, to protect manufactures, to establish a national bank or to interfere with slavery in any state. This was the only reference made to slavery by either of the leading parties.

THE ELECTION OF 1840

468. The Campaign.— The campaign that followed was one of the most remarkable that the country has ever witnessed. The nomination of Harrison and the onslaught on Van Buren aroused great enthusiasm among the people. A Democratic organ asserted that were General Harrison given a log cabin and a barrel of cider, he would be content to remain on his farm in Ohio.

Unhappily for the Democrats, like many another political gibe, this became a boomerang of tremendous power. The Whigs took up the cry and inaugurated the "log cabin and hard cider campaign." No such political meetings were ever before known. They were attended by men, women and children, and in Ohio the crowds were estimated by the number of acres they covered. Whig orators were everywhere present; among them were Clay, Webster, Corwin, Choate, Edward Everett and a host of others of less reputation. But the people cared more for amusement than for argument, and the song-makers were more effective than the orators.[1] Harrison was lauded for his military record, especially his defeat of the Indians at Tippecanoe, and "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" was the campaign cry from one end of the country to the other. Against this outburst of enthusiasm the Democrats contended in vain. Says an eye-witness of many of these scenes:

"There never was a greater party delusion during that successful campaign of the great Whig party than the emblematic display

[1] The most popular song was that entitled *What has Caused this Great Commotion?* It was sung to the tune of *Little Pig's Tail:*

"What has caused this great commotion, motion, motion,
Our country through?
It is the ball rolling on, on.

CHORUS—

"For Tippecanoe and Tyler too,
For Tippecanoe and Tyler too;
And with them we'll all beat little Van, Van, Van.
Van is a used-up man.
And with them we'll all beat little Van."

Under the genius of Horace Greeley and other would-be poets, this song was extended to include every political incident of the day, and was of unknown length. Another, which was a parody on the *Old Oaken Bucket*, was also very popular.

they made. There was no attempt on their part to discuss the policy of the respective candidates or the principles of the government. With their cider barrels on wheels, the rolling of big balls, their 'coons in cages, their 'coonskin caps and the log cabin or caucus hall, together with their uniformed companies with 'coonskins dangling from their heads to their waists, carrying flags by day and transparencies by night, they completely overwhelmed all argument and carried the masses along with them and defeated Van Buren with an overwhelming majority." [1]

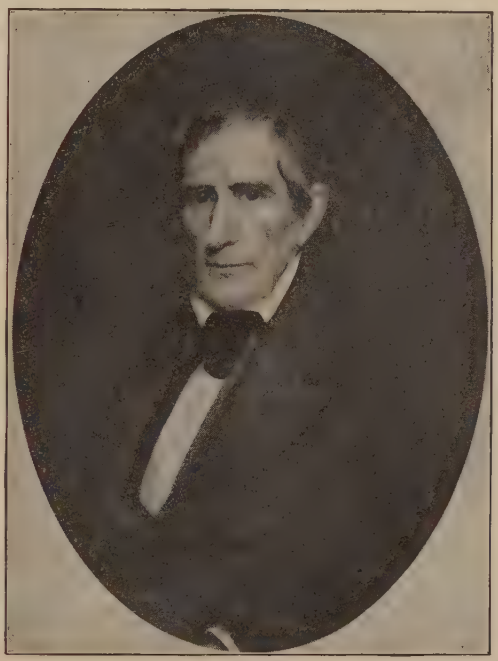
Harrison and Tyler received two hundred thirty-four votes, and Van Buren and Johnson, forty-eight. The Liberty party polled a popular vote of seven thousand six hundred.

469. Downfall of the Whigs.—The Whig triumph was not as great as the electoral vote would lead one to think. While the Whigs carried nineteen, and the Democrats only seven states, Harrison's plurality in the popular vote was only one hundred forty-six thousand, showing that in many states the vote was very close. The party had floated into power on a popular wave of opposition, and without having formulated any constructive policy. It was neither well-organized nor in condition to withstand severe trial, and several events soon conspired to cause its downfall.

1. Death of President Harrison.—President Harrison was a man of sound judgment, conservative in his opinions and acts, and one in whom the entire country had confidence. In his inaugural he set forth a policy conforming to the principles which the party was gen-

[1] Reminiscences of Judge Guild.

erally believed to accept. He appointed an able cabinet, with Webster for secretary of state, and called an extra session of Congress to meet May 31 to consider the financial distress of the country. But before Congress assembled the President was dead. He expired very suddenly, April 4, after a brief illness. For the first time in our history the vice-president, by virtue of his office, succeeded to the presidency.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

2. Veto of the United States Bank Bill. — The Whigs now reaped the full benefit of a vote-getting candidate. Tyler was a Democrat in all essential principles, and when the Whigs entered upon a policy of constructive legislation, he refused to follow. In marking out the policy which he pursued, Tyler was doubtless influenced by personal and political friends and made to believe

that he could so manage as to make himself the Whig leader and his own successor.

The first movement of Congress was to abolish the independent treasury, and the second, to pass a bill for establishing a United States Bank. This bill was drawn up by Clay, and provided for a bank with its main office at Washington and branches in the different states. It was vetoed by Tyler in August, 1842, and the Whig majority was not large enough to pass the bill over his veto. After long consultation with the president, a second bill, which it was understood would meet his approval, was passed, but this he also vetoed in September. These acts completely alienated Tyler from the party that elected him. The cabinet all resigned except Webster, who retained his position on account of important foreign negotiations that were pending.

3. Tariff.—By the compromise tariff of 1833 (Section 453), the rate on all articles was reduced to twenty per cent in 1842. This act was amended by the Whigs so that the rate was in force for only two months, the new law considerably increasing the duties. This new tariff measure was objectionable to all who opposed the protective system, and tended to make the Whigs unpopular.

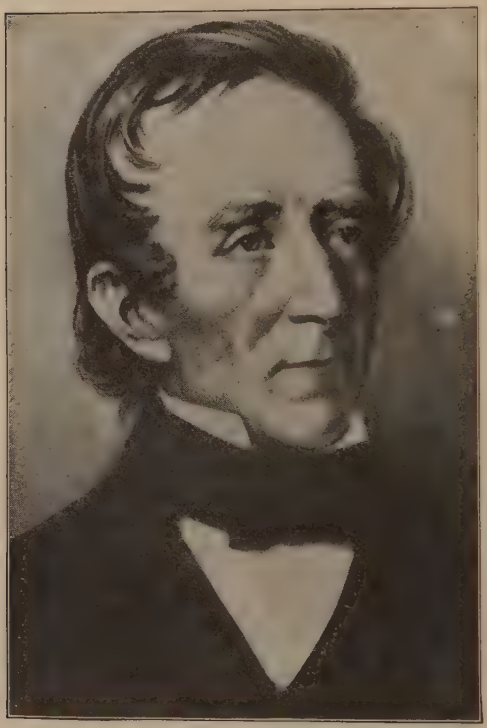
By this time the popular enthusiasm for the Whigs had also waned, and the state elections of 1842 returned a Democratic majority to the House of Representatives, so that Tyler's second Congress was divided, the House being Democratic, and the Senate, Whig. Divided

councils were unfruitful of results, and during this session of Congress there was but little legislation.

4. Texas.—Tyler looked upon the admission of Texas with more favor than did his predecessor, and he negotiated a secret treaty for her admission. This treaty was presented to the Senate in 1844 and promptly rejected by a decisive vote. The delicacy of the situation probably warranted Tyler in conducting his negotiations in secret, but the treaty was unfavorably received in the North and West, owing to strong opposition to an increase of slave territory. With the dissatisfaction caused by this last act of the president, all opportunity for success in the coming presidential election was lost to the Whigs.

470. Webster-Ashburton Treaty.—The most important diplomatic event of these four years of political turmoil was the conclusion of a treaty with Great Britain, by which the northern boundary of Maine was definitely established, and the troubles growing out of the Canadian insurrection and the slave trade were settled. The boundary of Maine was fixed as it now stands, and in establishing it, the United States indemnified Maine for the territory ceded to New Brunswick. Previous to the negotiation of this treaty both countries had manifested considerable ill feeling, and at one time war seemed imminent. Webster's course in remaining at his post and completing the delicate task which fell to him was, therefore, worthy of the highest commendation.

When this treaty had been negotiated, he resigned, and his place was filled by Mr. Upshur, who was soon followed by John C. Calhoun.



JOHN TYLER

471. Polk Elected. — The admission of Texas had now become a party issue. Between the Whigs and Democrats Tyler had fallen to the ground. He was not trusted by either party, and his nomination was impossible. The Democratic convention of 1844 reaffirmed the platform of 1840, and demanded, in addition, the "reannexation[1] of Texas and the reoccupation[2] of Oregon." The opponents of annex-

[1] The United States had claimed Texas as a part of Louisiana, but by the treaty of 1819 with Spain, had relinquished this claim; hence the term *reannexation*.

[2] The term *reoccupation* was used in an attempt to arouse national pride by reviving the old, time-worn claim that the United States secured Oregon by the Louisiana purchase, a claim that had long since been discarded.

ation supported Van Buren and had a majority in the convention, but the adoption of the rule requiring a vote of two-thirds of the members to nominate, caused his defeat. James K. Polk of Tennessee was nominated for president, and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, for vice-president.

The Whigs nominated Clay and Frelinghuysen. Clay immediately brought into play his inclination for harmony and compromise, by refusing to flatly assert strong principles and by courting the favor of both Northern and Southern wings of the Whigs. Though at the time of his nomination he was considered to be in sympathy with Northern Whigs and opposed to the annexation of Texas, early in the campaign, under pressure from Southern Whigs, he gradually changed his front upon the question of annexation. In a series of letters to a friend in Alabama he declared himself ready and anxious to secure Texas "without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union and upon just and fair terms," adding that he did not think that "the subject of

THE ELECTION OF 1844

slavery ought to affect the question one way or the other."

By this straddling policy Clay failed to gain the vote of the annexationists in the South, for they distrusted the numerous qualifications of his statement in favor of annexation. He lost some of the votes of the opponents of annexation in the North, who hesitated to support a man who approved of annexation on any terms. Many of these were offended at Clay's reference to the slavery question and joined with the newly organized Liberty party, which nominated J. G. Birney, to make vigorous war upon both Clay, the compromiser with slavery, and Polk, the slaveholder. This party appealed more strongly to Whigs than to Democrats, and secured such a large following in New York that Clay lost the state, and with it the election. Polk received 170 electoral votes; Clay, 105. The Liberty party polled a popular vote of 62,000. Clay's biographer well says: "The object of Clay's highest ambition escaped him because at the deciding moment he was untrue to himself."

QUESTIONS

Why was the decade, 1830–1840, characterized by so many changes? Which class of changes, material, intellectual or moral and religious, do you consider the most important? Why?

What causes led to the rapid settlement of what was then the West? Which of these was the most important?

Why was not a national literature established earlier? Is there any reason for so many writers of prominence appearing so near together?

What influences led to the change in the newspapers? Was there any connection between the building of railways and the increase in correspondence? If so, what was it?

Did the general credulity of the people have any influence on the presidential campaign?

Have any presidents since Van Buren suffered in a similar manner and from similar causes?

Did the Whigs make any serious mistake at the beginning of their campaign? If so, what was it?

Why did President Tyler veto the bill for establishing a United States Bank?

REFERENCES

For a complete and impartial account of the controversies centering in Van Buren's administration, as well as for the progress and condition of the country at that time, the student should consult Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, pp. 93–103. The diplomacy of the period is well discussed in Foster's *A Century of American Diplomacy*, pp. 280–289 and 302. The purely political aspects of the time, including the great campaign of 1840, are interestingly described in the American Statesmen series, especially Schurz's *Henry Clay*, vol. ii, pp. 151–267, Shepard's *Martin Van Buren*, pp. 323–339, and Lodge's *Daniel Webster*, ch. viii. See also Burgess's *The Middle Period*, pp. 278–327, McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, pp. 339–358, and Johnston's *American Politics*, pp. 133–148.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
First American street railway introduced in New York; first steam railroad operated in America	1830
Invention of electric telegraph	1835
Admission of Michigan; coal first used in production of steam	1836
Admission of Arkansas; screw propellers for steamboats invented	1837
First steamboat voyage across the Atlantic; McCormick reaper invented	1838
Election of Harrison	1840
Death of Harrison	1841
United States Bank bills vetoed by Tyler; tariff law passed; Webster-Ashburton Treaty signed	1842

Event	Date
Texas annexation treaty rejected by Senate; Polk elected president; first telegraph line completed	1844
Nathaniel Hawthorne	1804–1864
Fanshawe published	1828
The Scarlet Letter published	1850
Ralph Waldo Emerson	1803–1882
Nature	1836
Edgar Allan Poe	1809–1849
The Raven	1845
James Russell Lowell	1819–1891
The Vision of Sir Launfal	1845
John Greenleaf Whittier	1809–1892
Voices of Freedom	1846
Henry D. Thoreau	1817–1862
Walden	1854
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	1807–1882
Hiawatha	1855
Oliver Wendell Holmes	1809–1894
The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table	1858
Henry Clay	1777–1852
William Ellery Channing	1780–1842
John C. Calhoun	1782–1850
Daniel Webster	1782–1852
Edward Everett	1794–1865
William Hickling Prescott	1796–1859
Rufus Choate	1799–1859
George Bancroft	1800–1891
Theodore Parker	1810–1860
Wendell Phillips	1811–1884
Henry Ward Beecher	1813–1887
John Lothrop Motley	1814–1877
Francis Parkman	1823–1893
George William Curtis	1824–1892

CHAPTER XIX

THE MEXICAN WAR

1845-1848

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—The political results of the Mexican War were of immense importance, for they paved the way for the disintegration of the great political parties and led to the gradual alignment of the people in two new parties separated upon the basis which alone could lead to decisive action concerning slavery—sectional interests. That new alignment of political parties marks the beginning of the end of political disputation concerning slavery, and the opening of that period of bitter prejudice and hostility whose inevitable conclusion was either the peaceful disruption of the Union or civil war.

Note the extent of territory acquired from Mexico by the war; also its climatic condition and its resources. Compare that territory with that secured by the Louisiana purchase.

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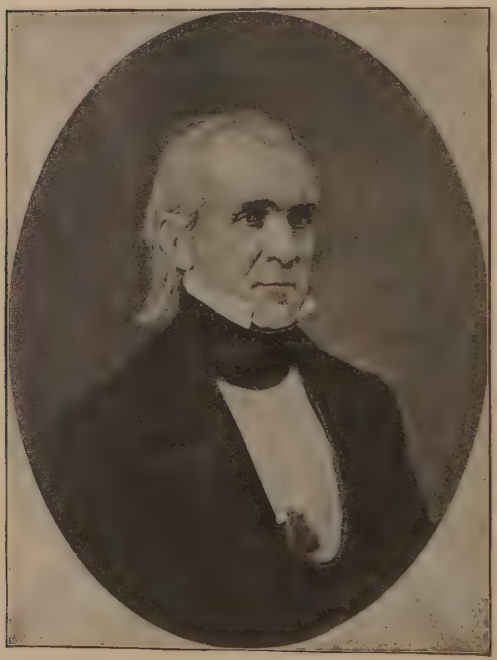
472. Oregon.—The joint occupation of Oregon by the United States and Great Britain (Section 427, 2) had continued without controversy, but the Hudson Bay Company, which was financially interested in obtaining control of the entire region, was making strenuous efforts to secure a large number of British subjects as settlers, who, by force of numbers, would compel Great Britain to hold the territory. American missionaries in the United States also used all their efforts to secure American colonists. The demand in the Democratic platform of 1844 for the reannexation of the country was considered by some as a direct challenge to Great Britain for a trial of strength, and the cry "Fifty-

four forty or fight," raised by the more radical of the administration forces, was not calculated to allay their fears. War with Mexico was certain, and a war with Great Britain at the same time would have been almost certainly disastrous. Happily, wise counsels on both sides prevailed, and in the summer of 1846 a compromise boundary was agreed upon.



JAMES K. POLK

The United States claimed the territory to the Russian boundary of 54° 40′, and Great Britain claimed it to the forty-second parallel, but would be content with the Columbia River as the boundary. As determined by the treaty, the boundary followed the forty-ninth parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the Straits of Fuca, thence along the deepest channel of the strait to the Pacific. By this treaty the United States gained

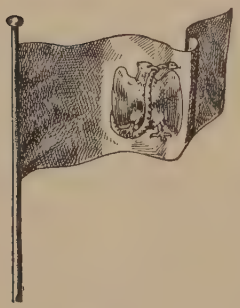
control of Puget Sound, with its great extent of inland waterways and numerous excellent harbors.[1]

473. Annexation of Texas.—Tyler interpreted the presidential vote as the voice of the people on the question of annexation, and determined to accomplish this before the end of his term. Under his direction, a joint resolution admitting the new state passed both houses of Congress and was signed by the president March 3, 1845. This resolution confirmed the Missouri Compromise, fixing 36° 30′ as the northern limit of slavery in the acquired territory. It also provided that Texas might, on consent of the state, be subdivided into other states, not exceeding four in number. It was generally conceded that Texas included all Spanish territory east of the Rocky Mountains and extending from the Rio Grande to the forty-second parallel.

474. War.—1. CAUSES.—Mexico had never acknowledged the independence of Texas, though the United States and several European countries had done so. Internal dissensions had prevented Mexico from recov-

[1] The story that Oregon was saved to the United States through the efforts of Marcus Whitman, a Presbyterian missionary, has gained wide credence. Whitman with three other missionaries went to Oregon in 1836. Other missionaries followed and several stations were established. Quarrels among the different stations soon ensued and the missionary board voted to discontinue the southern branch of the work. On learning this, Whitman started east in the middle of winter, and after enduring untold hardship in crossing the mountains on horseback, reached Boston in March, 1843, where he induced the board to reverse their decision. In 1864 an account of this journey stated that Whitman went east for political purposes and that through his influence with President Tyler and Webster, who was then secretary of state, he prevented the surrender of Oregon to the British. A careful examination of the records has recently been made and the evidence does not substantiate this claim.

ering the state by force. Nevertheless, she had served notice upon the United States that the admission of Texas would be considered equivalent to a declaration of war. Immediately upon the passage of the resolution admitting the state, the Mexican minister left Washington, and diplomatic relations between the governments ceased. Still, it is quite probable that hostilities would have been prevented had there been no other complications.



MEXICAN FLAG

The most serious difficulty was that over the southwestern boundary of Texas. Mexico claimed this was the Nueces River; the United States claimed that Texas extended to the Rio Grande. Under the name of Texas our government also claimed a large strip of territory which had never belonged to that state. That this claim was unjust is now well known, and because of it some of the leading members of Congress refused to sanction the treaty admitting Texas to the Union. The following extract from a speech by Senator Benton of Missouri shows clearly the trend of the opposition to this seizure of territory:

"I wash my hands of all attempts to dismember the Mexican Republic by seizing her dominions in New Mexico, Chihuahua, Coahuila and Tamaulipas. The treaty in all that relates to the boundary of the Rio Grande is an act of unparalleled outrage on Mexico. It is the seizure of two thousand miles of her territory

without a word of explanation to her, and by virtue of a treaty with Texas to which she is no party. Our secretary of state in his letter to the United States chargé in Mexico several days after the treaty was signed, and after the Mexican minister had withdrawn from our seat of government, shows full well that he was conscious of the enormity of this outrage, knew it was war, and proffered volunteer apologies to avert the consequences which he knew he had provoked."

2. Beginnings.—President Polk decided to prevent Mexican occupation of the disputed territory and sent General Zachary Taylor with a force of fifteen hundred

GROVE OF BIG TREES, SANTA CRUZ

troops to occupy the west bank of the Nueces. In the course of the summer, this force was increased to about four thousand. Early the following year, the president on his own responsibility ordered Taylor to advance to the Rio Grande and occupy a point threatening the Mexican town of Matamoras. The Mexican general, Arista, demanded that Taylor return to the Nueces, but Taylor refused. The Mexican forces then

crossed the river and captured a small force of Americans. May 8, the armies met at Palo Alto, and the Mexicans were repulsed. The following day Taylor attacked Arista at Resaca de la Palma, drove him back across the river, then, crossing the Rio Grande, captured Matamoras.

CATHEDRAL, PUEBLA, MEXICO

These battles were fought before war was formally declared, and on receiving news of them, President Polk immediately sent a message to Congress in which he declared that war existed by the act of Mexico herself. This declaration was accepted, and Congress made immediate provision for carrying on the war. An appropriation of ten million dollars was made for defraying the expenses, and the president was authorized to call for fifty thousand volunteers to serve one year. The war

was prosecuted on a plan which included three campaigns.

3. Taylor's Campaign.—Several months of inactivity followed the capture of Matamoras, during which time General Taylor's forces were increased. When his army was intact, supported by Generals Wool and Worth, Taylor set out for Monterey, which he captured after three days' siege, occupying the town on the twenty-third of September. Later, he marched southward as far as Victoria, and in January was attacked at Buena Vista by Santa Anna with an army outnumbering the Americans nearly three to one. After a severe engagement, the American forces were victorious, and the Mexicans, having lost nearly two thousand in killed and captured, made a precipitate retreat. Six months later, General Taylor placed the command of the army under General Wool and returned home.

4. Kearney's Campaign —Starting out from Fort Leavenworth, General Kearney, supported by Doniphan and Price, marched southward into New Mexico, where he occupied Santa Fé without resistance. Here the force was divided, one division under Doniphan going south to El Paso, thence to join Taylor's forces near Monterey. Kearney with the other division went westward, crossed the mountains, and, passing the head of the Gulf of California, reached the Pacific coast near the present town of San Diego, Cal. Previous to Kearney's arrival, the Americans residing on the Pacific coast,

under the lead of Colonel John C. Fremont, who had made an overland journey to the country, had declared California free from Mexico. The Mexicans resisted both Fremont and Kearney, but after a few engagements the Americans were victorious and the Mexican force capitulated, thus securing California to the United States.

5. Scott's Campaign.—General Winfield Scott was made commander-in-chief of our forces in Mexico, and in March, 1847, appeared off Vera Cruz with a large fleet and an army of twelve thousand men. After a siege of about three weeks, Vera Cruz was captured and the way was open for the American army to proceed to the City of Mexico. Scott at once began his march. The way was beset with difficulties, and, considering the size of his army, his undertaking was hazardous; but he steadily advanced, defeating the Mexicans at Cerro Gordo, and then at Puebla. Soon after reaching this place, the term expired for which a portion of his army had

A SCENE IN VERA CRUZ, MEXICO

enlisted, and Scott remained some weeks, awaiting the arrival of new recruits. When the reënforcements reached the army, he started on August 10 for the Valley of Mexico, with eleven thousand men. He was opposed by Santa Anna at the head of an army of thirty-five thousand. Engagements occurred at Contreras, Cherubusco, Molino del Rey and Chapultepec, a strong fortress almost within the walls of the city. In all of

BATTLEGROUND, CHAPULTEPEC, MEXICO
Scene of the last serious battle of the Mexican War, September 12-13, 1847.

these the Americans were victorious, and on September 14 Scott marched into the Mexican capital.

With the capture of her capital city, the war with Mexico practically ended. The United States forces were comparatively few in numbers, but the skill and courage manifested by both officers and men during each of the campaigns were remarkable. Associated with Scott were Ulysses S. Grant, first lieutenant, and Robert E.

Lee, captain, the two great leaders of the Civil War. Jefferson Davis, afterwards president of the Southern Confederacy, and other prominent military and civil leaders of that period also distinguished themselves in this war.

6. The Treaty.—The treaty was signed at Guadalupe-Hidalgo in February, 1848. By it Mexico surrendered to the United States the territory now comprising all that portion lying south of the forty-second parallel and west of the Louisiana purchase. For this the United States paid the sum of fifteen million dollars and assumed the claims of American citizens against Mexico to the amount of three million dollars. The Gila Valley was not included in this treaty, and was purchased later for ten million dollars. By this war the United States wrenched from Mexico a territory of about nine hundred thousand square miles.

475. Political Effects of the War.—A dispassionate review of the war with Mexico shows it to have been wholly discreditable to the United States. Had our government proceeded with due caution, there is little doubt that we would have secured through negotiation that which we acquired by force. There were many in the North and West who took this view of the struggle at the time war was declared. There were others who, with good reason, felt that the war was purely a sectional issue, and that it was waged for the benefit of the slave-holding states. Among this class were the Abolitionists

and those members of the leading political parties who were opposed to the extension of slave territory. The political writings of the period included articles from some of the ablest writers in the country, among them Lowell and Whittier, the latter then being much more widely known as an anti-slavery agitator than as a poet. The *Biglow Papers* by Lowell constitute one of the most

CASTLE, CHAPULTEPEC, MEXICO
Begun in 1785 by Galvez, viceroy of Mexico; never completed, but after 1822 used as a military school. It overlooks the battlefield of Sept. 12–13, 1847.

remarkable political satires in the English language, and set forth in a peculiar manner the views of those opposed to the war and to slavery.[1]

[1] "Ez fer war, I call it murder,—
There you hev it plain an' flat;
I don't want to go no furder
Than my Testyment fer that;
God hez sed so plump an' fairly,
It's ez long ez it is broad,

476. The Wilmot Proviso.—From the beginning of the war it was a settled fact that the United States would obtain more or less territory from Mexico. Hoping that the conflict might be terminated by purchasing the territory, President Polk early made application to Congress for authority and such appropriations as might be necessary to bring the struggle to a close. A bill for this purpose, authorizing the president to use two million dollars at his discretion in making such a treaty, was immediately prepared and placed before Congress. The bill said nothing about the labor conditions to be established in the territory acquired. In all states admitted to the Union the question of slavery had been settled by local conditions before such admission. Alabama and Mississippi were slave, owing to slavery's existing within their borders since they had been opened to settlement. For similar reasons Texas, Florida, Louisiana and Arkansas were also admitted as slave states. The only real contest had been over the admission of Missouri, and local conditions there also gave the slaveholding faction the advantage.

An' you've gut to git up airly
Ef you want to take in God.

"Wut's the use o' meetin'-goin'
Every Sabbath, wet or dry,
Ef it's right to go a-mowin'
Feller-men like oats an' rye?
I dunno but wut it's pooty,
Trainin' round in bobtail coats,—
But it's curus Christian dooty,
This 'ere cuttin' folks's throats."

—*Biglow Papers*, First Series.

Twenty years before, Mexico had abolished slavery throughout her entire domain, and whatever territory was acquired from her would come to us free-soil. From the beginning the pro-slavery faction looked upon Mexican conquest as the only hope for maintaining its power in Congress. With the admission of Florida

NATIONAL PALACE, CITY OF MEXICO

and Texas, the slave power had received the last states that could offset new free states, and, as we have already seen, in order that the addition of Texas might afford the greatest possible political advantage, there was a provision for dividing the region into four other states. Unless it was prohibited by Congress, slavery was sure to be extended into the territory acquired from Mexico,

thereby adding spacious domains to the slave power. Therefore, David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, moved the addition of the following provision to the bill:

"*Provided,* That as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States by virtue of any treaty that may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the executive of moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted."

The bill, as amended, passed the House, but failed to pass the Senate.

477. Alignment of Parties.—The vote on the Wilmot Proviso was indicative of profound political changes. The election of 1846 returned a Whig majority to the House, whereas the previous Congress had been Democratic in both branches. The opponents of the Wilmot Proviso were all from the South, except a few Northern Democrats, who were led by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois; but even with these Northern representatives voting against the bill, the House had a majority in favor of it. The pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions in the Senate, however, were more evenly balanced, and the pro-slavery party was able to prevent action upon the measure before final adjournment. When the new Congress assembled, the pro-slavery forces were well organized. They consisted of both Democrats and Whigs from the South, and a few Democratic politicians from the North, who, either because they looked favor-

ably upon slavery, or because they thought that by favoring the institution they could gain political prestige, continued to vote with the pro-slavery faction. Through the adherence of these Northern members this faction continued to control a majority in Congress, so the Wilmot Proviso was lost.

The pro-slavery faction then attempted to extend the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′ to the Pacific coast. In this they were defeated in the House, which still had an anti-slavery majority. These and several other minor measures served to align Congress and the people, regardless of party, either for or against the extension of slave territory. This alignment was hastened by the great addition of territory in the Southwest, secured through the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. As this territory should become slave or free, so would the dominant party in Congress remain pro-slave or anti-

WORTH MONUMENT, NEW YORK

Erected by the city of New York at Fifth Avenue and Broadway over the tomb of Major General Worth, the first to plant the United States flag south of the Rio Grande and the first to enter the City of Mexico.

slave in its policy. All other issues were now subordinate to this. The gravity of the situation was fully realized by the leaders of both factions, and the more conservative on each side made a successful attempt to postpone the issue. During the administration four states had been admitted—Florida and Texas in 1845, Iowa in 1846, Wisconsin in 1848. Two of these were slave, and two free; thus the balance of power in the Senate was still preserved.

478. The National Campaign.—The Whigs returned to the policy which had proven successful in 1840 but miserably disastrous in 1844. They selected a weak candidate without any platform, in order to hold in line the Southern wing of the Whig party, which was becoming rebellious at the party's increasing tendency towards free-soil and anti-slavery principles. They nominated for president a slaveholder and hero of the Mexican War, General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, and for vice-president Millard Fillmore of New York. The convention adopted no platform and repeatedly voted down a resolution favoring the Wilmot Proviso.

The Democrats, too, were becoming alarmed at the disaffection of the Northerners in their ranks, and to hold them in line nominated for president a safe, conservative Northern leader, Lewis Cass of Michigan, and for vice-president General W. O. Butler of Kentucky, a hero of the Mexican War and citizen of an important border state. The platform was also non-committal

upon important questions, but contented itself with the reaffirmation of the two preceding platforms of the party. This convention took pains to vote down a resolution in favor of non-interference with property and slaves.

MAP SHOWING TERRITORY ACQUIRED BY MEXICAN WAR
The shaded portion shows strip of territory claimed by Mexico until 1846.

The attitude of the two great parties displeased a large number of voters in the North, who distrusted both parties for not taking a bold stand in opposition to

the slave power. Upon this issue the Democrats of New York split into two factions. These were known as the "Hunkers," or conservatives, who wished to postpone any discussion of the slavery question; and the "Barnburners," or free-soil Democrats, who opposed any further extension of slavery in the territories. Both factions were admitted to the national convention, with an agreement that the vote of the state should be divided between them, but the "Barnburners" withdrew and later united at Buffalo in a national convention of the Liberty party and other Whigs and Democrats opposed to the extension of slavery, thus forming the Free-soil party, into which all of these factions were merged. The Free-soilers nominated Van Buren for president and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts for vice-president, and adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this convention, Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish monarchy; no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution or derived by just implication from them.

"*Resolved*, That the true, and in the judgment of this convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its extension in all such territory by an act of Congress."

In the election the Whigs triumphed, Taylor and Fillmore receiving one hundred sixty-three votes to one hundred twenty-seven for Cass and Butler. The Southern Democrats quite generally voted for Taylor, prefer-

ring a Whig who was a slaveholder to a Democrat from a free state. The popular vote polled by the Free-soil party was nearly three hundred thousand, showing the rapid growth in sentiment against the extension of slavery. Whereas the pro-slavery party waged the Mexican War to augment its power, it proved to be the first great step which led to its downfall.

QUESTIONS

Do you consider Texas an independent republic at the time of her annexation to the United States? Why?

Had the northern boundary of Oregon been fixed at 54° 40′, what Canadian province would have been a part of the United States?

Did the United States have just cause for declaring war against Mexico? If so, what was it? What reason can you give why war should not have been declared? Why was the American army so successful?

Was the Wilmot Proviso constitutional? Why?

On what grounds were the objections to the Mexican War based? Were these objections well founded? Why?

Trace the changes in political parties from the election of Jackson to the campaign of 1844.

Why did the Democrats and Whigs in the campaign of 1844 refrain from discussing the slavery question? Why did the Free-soil party force the discussion to the front?

REFERENCES

For opposite views of the Mexican War, see Lodge's *Daniel Webster*, ch. ix; Von Holst's *John C. Calhoun*, ch. ix; Schurz's *Henry Clay*, vol. ii, ch xxv. All of these are of the American Statesmen series.

For an extended account of the Mexican War, see Ripley's *War with Mexico*.

Good brief discussions of this whole period will be found in McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, pp. 359–375; Wilson's *Division and Reunion*, pp. 145–160; Roosevelt's *Thomas H. Benton*, pp. 317–340; Johnston's *American Politics*, pp. 149–158.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Annexation of Texas	Mar. 3, 1845
War declared upon Mexico by United States	May 13, 1846
Opening of hostilities	April, 1846
Battle of Palo Alto	May 8, 1846
Capture of Monterey	Sept. 23, 1846
The Oregon Treaty signed	1846
Wilmot Proviso proposed	1846
Battle of Buena Vista	Feb., 1847
Siege of Vera Cruz	Mar., 1847
March to the Valley of Mexico begun	Aug. 10, 1847
Scott's entry into the City of Mexico	Sept. 14, 1847
Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo signed	Feb., 1848
Taylor elected president; organization of the Free-soil party	1848

CHAPTER XX

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES

1619-1850

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—In connection with the study of this chapter, carefully and thoughtfully review the subject of slavery wherever discussed in Volume One and in previous chapters of this volume. Note its influence upon our intellectual life; study its social and industrial effects, and its relations to national politics.

Try to obtain a clear idea of the growth and decline of the institution of slavery by reading the article *Slavery* in a good encyclopedia, or by consulting some good ancient history, such as the one forming a part of this series.

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479. Introductory.—Slavery ceased to exist in the United States in 1865, and at this distance in time its social, political and economic aspects can be dispassionately discussed. Many of the allegations made by both parties in the heat of political campaigns must be discarded as greatly overdrawn or wholly untrue. That such allegations and consequent misconception should arise from the antagonistic social and industrial conditions of the slave and free states was inevitable. At the beginning the exaggeration and untruth were due more to prejudice arising in each section of the country from a lack of knowledge of the life and customs of the other section than from willful animosity.

480. Slavery in America.—When, in 1619, a Dutch trader deposited his cargo of negro slaves in Virginia, he

doubtless little thought of the tremendous consequences of his act. From that year to the present time the shadow of slavery has lain upon every phase of American life. For the first one hundred fifty years the institution grew slowly and attracted little attention. However, as early as 1688 there had been agitation among the colonists, especially among the Quakers, in favor of restricting its development, and in 1774 the Continental Congress in its Declaration of Rights agreed, for the colonies represented, not to import slaves nor to buy imported slaves. Still, the institution became so interwoven with the industries of the South that at the time of the Constitutional Convention it was a prominent issue before that body (Section 322). At about the same time, however, the old Congress prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787.

A SOUTHERN MANSION
A typical plantation home on the bank of the lower Mississippi.

The census of 1790 showed seven hundred thousand slaves in the United States. Over forty thousand of these were in the states north of Mason and Dixon's Line, Massachusetts being the only state that had none.

New York had over twenty-one thousand, and New Jersey over eleven thousand. But in most of the Southern states, as well as in the North, there was a growing sentiment in favor of emancipation. During the first session of the First Congress, a proposition to tax imported slaves brought on a spirited debate which showed that the North and South were then beginning to divide on this question. A petition from the Quakers praying for the abolition of slavery caused a still more acrimonious discussion in the next Congress, and from that time until the Civil War the subject, in one form or another, was frequently before the national legislature.

481. The Development of Slavery.—The first great enterprise calling for slave labor was tobacco-raising. The results arising from this industry in Virginia were of the highest importance, and its growth was marvelous. In 1619 Virginia exported twenty thousand pounds of tobacco; eight years later, five hundred thousand pounds, and by 1670 she was exporting twelve million pounds annually. This increase in the product was necessarily accompanied by a proportionate increase in the number of laborers during the half-century. The cultivation of rice in South Carolina also called for slave labor. But all these demands had been met by 1790, and only a small number of negroes were imported during the years immediately following.

The next great impetus given slavery was through

inventions for manufacturing cotton goods. In England, Hargreaves invented the mule jenny, and Cartwright the power loom. At about the same time Watt perfected the steam engine, so that it could be applied to the operation of machinery. These inventions increased the capacity for manufacture many fold, and thus created a demand for cotton, which the world was unable to supply. At this time Whitney invented his cotton gin, and this formed the missing link in the chain that united the producer to the manufacturer.

The conditions of soil and climate in a number of Southern states were specially suited to the successful production of cotton and in their ability to supply the demand of the English market the planters saw a golden opportunity which they were quick to grasp. Within forty years—from 1790 to 1830—the number of slaves increased from seven hundred thousand to over two million, practically all of whom, excepting those found in Missouri, were in the states south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio River. The rise of American cotton manufactures added another demand to that of the English market, and for the next thirty years the number of slaves continued to increase until at the outbreak of the Civil War there were about four million in the country, constituting a little more than one-eighth of the entire population.

This increase in number was attended by an increase

A FIELD OF GROWING TOBACCO

in value. In colonial days a good, healthy negro was worth fifty dollars. In 1830 the value had increased to five hundred dollars, and by 1860 prime cotton hands were worth fifteen hundred dollars each. This increase in value made trading in negroes a profitable business.

482. Free Negroes.—As slavery increased, the problems connected with it multiplied and became more difficult of solution. One of the first of these was that presented by the presence of a large number of free negroes in the country. Most of these became free through the emancipation of the slaves in the Northern states; others obtained their freedom as special concessions from their owners, who, either because of their attachment to the slave or because they considered slavery a moral wrong, had set their negroes free. The condition of these people was often worse than that of the slaves, and in all cases nearly hopeless. In no state were the negroes granted the full right of citizenship. In almost every state they were denied the right to vote, and several states required each black or mulatto to register his certificate of freedom with the clerk of a court of record. In some states registration and renewal of the certificate from the clerk were demanded each year, and usually at a considerable expense to the negro. Delaware and Pennsylvania refused to allow negroes, slave or free, to leave the state without a legal pass. The employment of a negro without a certificate

was, in most states, punishable with fine. All possible conditions tending to make the black man a criminal seemed to surround him, and the proportion of criminals among the free negroes after 1820 was much greater than that among any other class. In the slave states the free negroes were considered a positive danger. It was a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment to teach a negro to read or write, and any free negro was liable to be arrested and resold into slavery on the merest pretense. They were looked upon as breeders of strife and sedition among the slaves. In 1822, an insurrection planned in Charleston and prevented only through information given by a faithful slave was traced to the free negroes, and in the following year South Carolina passed a law requiring the arrest of any free negro entering her ports as an employe on any ship, and his retention by the sheriff until the ship's departure, when the captain was obliged to pay all expenses connected with the arrest and retention. There were several other attempts at insurrection among the negroes. One in Virginia, known as the Nat Turner Insurrection, also instigated by free negroes, led to considerable bloodshed. The South was anxious to be rid of this class of vicious idlers. With that feeling the people of many Northern states were also in hearty sympathy, since the negroes were crowding into their large cities in great numbers.

In 1816 the American Colonization Society was

organized, for the purpose of planting in Africa a colony for the free blacks of the United States. This organization numbered among its members some of the most influential men of the country. At the outset the society let it be understood that the abolition of slavery was no purpose or part of its organization, and it secured support from the slave and free states alike.

A SOUTHERN WHARF SCENE
Cotton in bales ready for shipment at Charleston, S. C.

After a number of unsuccessful attempts a negro colony was established on the west coast of Africa, which, after prolonged trials, became in 1847 the Republic of Liberia. About nine thousand negroes were taken to this colony previous to 1850, but as a means of providing a home for the free negroes of the United States, the project was a failure.

483. Slave Trade.—Unquestionably the slave trade was the most revolting feature of slavery. The African slave trade was closed by the national government on January 1, 1808, but this did not either put an end to the traffic or secure the gradual emancipation of slaves, as was confidently expected by the framers of the Constitution. The great profits connected with the traffic attracted to it unscrupulous men, whose acts were often so brutal that even the slaveholders with whom they dealt refused to associate with them otherwise than in a business way. Nevertheless, the shrewdest of these traders were powerful political managers. Since each could command a considerable following, together they wielded a strong influence in securing laws favorable to the extension of slavery and for the recovery of fugitives.

The states which first engaged in raising tobacco had by 1830 almost exhausted their soil for this crop, and most of them were too far north to raise cotton with profit. Many of the leading slaveholders in Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland began to breed slaves for the cotton fields of Georgia, Mississippi and other cotton-growing states. In order that the largest profits might be derived from this business, the marriage relation and family ties among the negroes were in many instances entirely set aside, and almost everywhere were but slightly regarded. Children were sold away from parents, wives from husbands and husbands from wives. Most of the trading occurred at auctions, where human beings

were sold like cattle. These sales were extensively advertised in the papers and were attended by large crowds. The profits arising from the traffic were enormous. It was estimated that before 1860 Virginia had received

SLAVE MARKET, SAINT AUGUSTINE

for slaves sold more money than could be obtained at that time for all her land and all that there was upon it.[1]

On account of its location, Washington was a convenient center for this traffic. Here, after 1840, slave auctions were continually in progress. As negroes were purchased by the traders, they were lodged in jails until a sufficient number were obtained to form a "coffle,"

[1] Greeley, *The American Conflict.*

when the women and girls were huddled into carts and the men were handcuffed together in pairs and each pair joined to the next with a chain. Thus manacled, the slaves began their journey to the South. When the trade was at its height, not a day passed that these processions were not seen marching through the streets of the national capital.

Since the government of the District of Columbia was under the control of Congress, petitions began to appear before that body, demanding the abolition of this traffic within the District, and between 1830 and 1850 a multitude of such petitions was received. Finally, in the Compromise of 1850 (Section 489), the prayer of the petitioners was granted. Slave markets were common in all the large cities and towns in the slave states. As the traffic extended, the hardships that it entailed upon the negroes increased, and many accounts of the revolting circumstances attending the sales were spread through the free states, where they aroused a strong sentiment against the entire institution of slavery.

484. Fugitive Slaves.—Fugitive slaves were a constant source of irritation between the slave and the free states. The earliest legislation in the colonies provided for the return of fugitive slaves. This was also provided for in the Ordinance of 1787 and in the Constitution.[1] In 1793 Congress passed an act providing for the delivery of fugitive slaves, when found by their owners, without

[1] Art. IV, Sec. 1, Clause 3.

trial by jury, and fixing a fine of five hundred dollars upon any one hindering the arrest of or harboring a runaway slave. This law was much abused and under it many free negroes were kidnaped and returned to slavery.

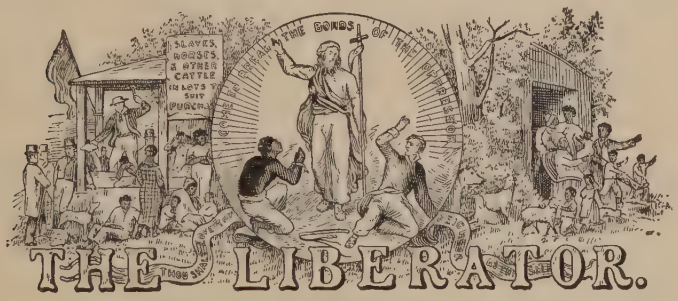
Slaves were continually escaping from the border states and finding homes in the North. As slavery was extended and the population of the country increased, more avenues of escape were opened and the number of runaways grew from year to year. Before 1850 it was estimated that more than thirty thousand fugitive slaves were living in Ohio and New York, and many more had removed all possibilities of capture by emigrating to Canada.

Fugitive slave laws were Federal statutes and the Supreme Court decided that state officers could not be compelled to assist in the enforcement of these laws. Following this decision, several states enacted laws prohibiting state officials from assisting in the execution of fugitive slave laws. As the anti-slavery sentiment grew, the feeling against these laws increased, and people in the free states frequently interfered in the arrest of escaping negroes and assisted them to elude their pursuers.

Between 1838 and 1850 an organization was begun by the Quakers of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of assisting slaves to escape to Canada. In the course of time this system became extremely effective. It

worked in secret, and was so well managed that none of its members were ever discovered. It maintained stations across Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio, a day's drive apart. At these stations fugitive slaves were sheltered, fed and assisted on their way. Various members of the organization always had teams at the disposal of the negroes, and, under the cover of night, drove them from one station to another. On account of its secret methods, this organization became known as the "Underground Railway." By it hundreds of slaves were enabled to escape each year.

485. Anti-Slavery Sentiment.—1. The Press.—The anti-slavery movement in the United States was given



HEADING OF THE LIBERATOR
Detail from the title-head of Garrison's anti-slavery paper.

a tremendous impulse by Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker. In early manhood Lundy resolved to devote his life to the cause of emancipation. In 1815 he organized the first anti-slavery society at Wheeling, W. Va., under the name of the Union "Humane Society."

Soon after this he began writing for the press, and in 1821 started the *Genius of Universal Emancipation.* In 1836 the name was changed to *The National Enquirer* and later to *The Pennsylvania Freeman.* Before 1826, through Lundy's efforts, over one hundred anti-slavery societies had been organized in the United States. Strangely enough, the largest number of these were in the slave states. North Carolina had forty-one, and Tennessee twenty-three.

In 1829 William Lloyd Garrison joined Lundy in editing the *Genius,* and from this date anti-slavery sentiment took on a different phase. Heretofore all efforts had been aimed at gradual emancipation and had aroused but little antagonism. Two years after he became connected with the *Genius,* Garrison began the publication of the *Liberator.* He and his immediate followers denounced slavery as a curse upon humanity and demanded immediate emancipation. They declared the Constitution to be a "league with hell," since it permitted slavery; hence they refused to vote under it, to hold any political office or to associate with any political party. The Garrisonians were few in number, but they were intensely earnest. Among them were Wendell Phillips, John G. Whittier and others of equal note. Their influence was contagious, and while but few went as far as Garrison in demanding emancipation regardless of law, the effect of their enthusiastic and radical teaching was greatly to strengthen anti-slavery sentiment through-

out the North, and at the same time to arouse the South to frenzy.

2. Societies.—After 1830 the anti-slavery societies everywhere met with opposition. The Garrisonians were looked upon, even by many who sympathized with the anti-slavery idea, as dreamers and agitators whose efforts were leading the country towards disunion. Anti-slavery meetings were frequently broken up and leaders were often roughly handled. Garrison was once dragged through the streets of Boston with a rope around his neck, and only escaped lynching through the interference of the police; Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia, built by the Abolitionists, was burned by a mob; Elijah Lovejoy, the editor of another anti-slavery journal, was murdered by a mob at Alton, Ill. The above are a few

WENDELL PHILLIPS

instances of anti-slavery riots that increased in number and violence as the antagonism between the parties grew more and more bitter. In the South anti-slavery discussion was not tolerated, and any advocate was liable to forfeit his life if he attempted publicly to teach his doctrines within the boundaries of the slave states.

3. The Churches.—In general the churches, previous to 1850, were openly hostile or coldly indifferent to the cause. After that date most of the churches in the free states began to favor restriction of slave territory, while those in the South boldly declared slavery an institution ordained of God for the benefit of the black race. Upon this question the Baptist and Methodist Episcopal churches divided, but by shrewd management the Presbyterian Church was enabled to retain its entity until the Civil War. The Abolitionists' opinion of the attitude of the churches on the slavery question is well expressed in the following stanza from Lowell's *Biglow Papers:*

"I du believe in Freedom's cause,
Ez fur away ez Payris is;
I love to see her stick her claws
In them infarnal Phayrisees;
It's wal enough agin a king
To dror resolves and triggers,—
But libbaty's a kind o' thing
Thet don't agree with niggers."

4. The General Situation.—The anti-slavery factions in the free states were by no means united, and in 1850 they could properly be grouped into four classes:

COTTON-PICKERS AT WORK
A typical scene both before and after the Civil War.

(1) The Garrisonians, already described; (2) the members of the Liberty party, who politically supported only those candidates who were the champions of liberty; (3) various small sects and parties which occupied middle ground between the above positions; (4) "a large and steadily increasing class who, though decidedly anti-slavery, refused to withhold their votes or to throw them away on candidates whose election was impossible, but persisted in voting, at nearly every election, so as to effect good and prevent evil to the extent of their power." [1] As usual, the utterances and sentiments of the most radical of the Abolitionists were those that gained the widest credence throughout the South; on this account the combined factions were branded by the Southern press as agitators and incendiaries.

OLD COTTON MILL
Near Baton Rouge, La., dating from ante-bellum days.

[1] Greeley, *American Conflict.*

486. Industrial Effects.—Industrially, slavery was an unmitigated curse. Almost all of the economic and financial disasters which from time to time befell the South were due to its blighting influence. It deprived the slave states of skilled labor, thus making manufacturing and other industries impossible, and confining the states to agriculture, which, because of the condition of the laborers, could be carried on only in a crude manner. It produced a great class of idle whites, who considered it a disgrace to work and consequently fell victims to all the vices subject to a life of idleness. It caused all the mineral resources of the South to lie dormant for nearly two centuries, and it made the people dependent upon other states and foreign countries for many of the necessaries of life.

487. Political Effects.—Politically and socially, slavery created an oligarchy in the South. In 1850 the large slaveholders numbered two thousand families, each of which owned from one hundred to twenty-five hundred slaves. These families comprised a political and social aristocracy. They held or controlled all the principal offices, state and national, and directed the vote of the slave states. Joined with them were about three hundred fifty thousand families of small slaveholders, who were their unquestioning followers. These conditions made possible that compact political organization which for so many years enabled the pro-slavery faction to dominate the national government and to secure those

measures that were intended to strengthen its hold upon the country.

At the election of Taylor and Fillmore the slavocracy of America was at the summit of its power; yet its seeming strength was its greatest weakness. The political organization which it had formed and maintained and by

A VIRGINIA MANSION

The homestead of Colonel William Byrd at Westover, Va., erected early in the eighteenth century. It is an excellent representative of Southern plantation homes.

which it had attained its power, testified to a dangerous condition of general apathy and ignorance which would have been impossible in the free states, because of the large class of independent workers and thinkers. The South was inert. Her development was arrested; while the country all about her had moved on, she had stood still and was living fifty years behind the free states in

political, social and industrial affairs. She was nowise prepared for that separation from the Union which even then some of her most radical leaders were demanding. Slavery held the South in a bondage more absolute than that endured by the slaves themselves.

QUESTIONS

What present existing conditions in the country, industrial, social and political, do you attribute to slavery?

How do you account for the change in sentiment regarding slavery during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Does slavery still exist in any civilized countries?

Account for the small increase in the number of slaves during the years immediately following the Revolutionary War.

What reason can you give for the treatment of free negroes in the Northern states? How does their condition in those states at the present time compare with that described in the text?

Why did the colonization society fail in its purpose?

What were the most revolting features of the slave trade? Account for the class of men engaged in it. In what ways did it cause antagonism between the North and South?

Why were special laws necessary in order to enable owners to recover fugitive slaves? Why was the execution of these laws opposed in the free states?

Were the Garrisonians right in their attitude towards emancipation? Why? Account for the different anti-slavery organizations in the free states.

Could the industrial conditions under slavery have been different? If so, how could the change have been brought about?

REFERENCES

Probably the best detailed account of slavery, from the beginning of American history to the extinction of the institution, is that of Wilson in *The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*. Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, chs. i, ii, iii and iv, furnish an exhaustive treatment of the whole subject, but with less early historical detail. Valuable illustrative material will be found in Hart's *Source Book of American History*, nos. 89, 94–101 and 113,

and *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 78–83; also Johnston's *Representative American Orations*, vol. ii, pp. 33–135. The life of William Lloyd Garrison, by his children, gives a valuable and interesting discussion of the part played by the Abolitionists during the period.

The social and domestic life of the South at this time is interestingly described in Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, though the pictures are somewhat overdrawn.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Slavery introduced in America	1619
Agitation against the institution begun	about 1688
Declaration by the Continental Congress in favor of the restriction of the slave trade	1774
Invention of mule jenny, power loom, steam engine and cotton gin	1780–1795
Compromise concerning slavery adopted in the Constitution; slavery prohibited in the Northwest Territory	1787
African slave trade closed by Constitution, Jan. 1	1808
First anti-slavery society organized by Benjamin Lundy	1815
American Colonization Society organized	1816
Missouri Compromise adopted	1820
Genius of Universal Emancipation established	1821
The *Liberator* established	1831
"Underground Railway" flourished	after 1838
Republic of Liberia founded	1847

CHAPTER XXI

WIDENING THE BREACH

1848-1860

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.—The closing chapter of this volume terminates an important political period. In the previous chapters, the causes that intensified sectional feeling have been noticed as they occurred. In connection with the study of this chapter these causes and their effects should be summarized. In making this summary, try to see reasons presented by each party to the controversy, and to give each its due share of credit. Do as much collateral reading as possible. Definite suggestions are given for this at the end of the chapter. Note also the changes in men and in the political trend of thought and feeling.

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488. Introductory.—When nominated, General Taylor declared that, if elected, he would be the president of no party or faction, but of the entire nation. In a brief and clear inaugural address he set forth his policy in accordance with this declaration. His election left the slavery question unchanged and unsettled. The Department of the Interior had been created just at the close of President Polk's administration, and its secretary was now added to the cabinet, making seven members in all. Of these, four were from the South and three from the North. While the cabinet contained no eminent men, all its members were experienced in public affairs and were men of ability and good judgment. Politically its weight of influence was with the North. In addition to the cabinet, the presi-

dent surrounded himself with a number of able advisers, among whom were Vice-President Fillmore and William H. Seward, who had entered the Senate from New York, where he had been twice elected governor. Taylor followed the practice of his predecessors and made wholesale removals from office. For this he was severely

THE ELECTION OF 1848

and unjustly criticised by the Democrats, who had inaugurated the system.

The Thirty-first Congress was notable for two reasons. Like the Twelfth Congress (Section 409), it brought to the front a number of men of a new generation, who were to attain prominence in the events of the coming years. Among these were Seward, Jefferson Davis, son-in-law of the President, Stephen A.

Douglas of Illinois, Sam Houston of Texas, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Hannibal Hamlin of Maine and a number of others from the Northern states. The Senate was to hear for the last time the voices of Clay, Calhoun and Webster, who for more than a generation had been its most distinguished leaders. The House was composed of one hundred twelve Democrats, one hundred five Whigs and thirteen Free-soilers. This placed the balance of power with the Free-soil members. After a prolonged contest, Howell Cobb of Georgia was elected speaker on a *viva voce* vote. The Senate contained thirty-five Democrats, twenty-five Whigs and two Free-soilers.

489. The Great Compromise.—1. California.—Although a slaveholder himself, the President was not an advocate of the extension of slavery into the territory obtained from Mexico. He believed that this territory should be organized into states at the earliest practicable date, and so stated in his annual message. On January 24, 1848, occurred one of the most important events in American history. This was the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, near Coloma, Cal. As soon as this discovery was made known, men from all parts of the world flocked to California. While among the arrivals were those of many nationalities, the majority of immigrants were from the Northern states of the Union. In 1849 thousands of these made their journey by team across the plains, and by 1850 the population of California had

increased to nearly one hundred thousand.[1] California was settled before any code of laws could be framed for the territory, and the settlers were so far from the seat of government that they were compelled to establish a system of local government adapted to their needs.

ZACHARY TAYLOR

In 1850, having formed a constitution excluding slavery, the state applied for admission into the Union. The Senate rejected the application because of the clause prohibiting slavery, since the pro-

[1] Gold was discovered by James W. Marshall, a millwright in the employ of Colonel Sutter. Under Marshall's direction, a ditch was being dug for a tail-race to a sawmill. The excavation was through gravel, and at night water was turned into the ditch to wash out the loose pebbles. While examining the bed of the ditch, Marshall found a number of grains of a yellow substance, about the size of grains of wheat. Marshall suspected the grains were gold, but kept the secret until he was able to test them. The test, when made by Marshall and Colonel Sutter, proved the substance to be pure gold. The discovery was

slavery faction still hoped to extend the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′ to the Pacific coast. For some time the most radical members of this faction threatened secession unless this measure was granted. In addition to this, they demanded the right of every American to remove at will to any part of the United States and carry with him his lawful property, including slaves. The granting of this privilege would open every state to slavery. These demands had been formulated in 1849 at a meeting of eighty members of Congress from the slaveholding states and had been published in all of the leading papers of the South, where their sentiment was universally approved.

A WESTERN MINERS' CABIN

2. Other Difficulties.—Texas claimed a portion of New Mexico. The President recommended that New Mexico be organized into a state, and that the bound-

kept secret for some time, but finally workers in the mill learned of it and began to abandon their customary labor for gold mining. Soon after, the discovery was announced in a San Francisco paper and the rush to the Coloma valley began. Previous to 1847, the entire output of gold for the world was less than twenty-five million dollars a year. In 1848, the gold mined at Coloma amounted to five million dollars. In 1849, it was twenty-three millions; in 1853, it amounted to sixty-five millions, and then it began to decline. In 1900 the output of the state was about sixteen million dollars.

aries be fixed, after which a satisfactory adjustment with Texas could be made. This recommendation was highly objectionable to the South unless New Mexico could be organized as slave territory. The increasing difficulty in securing the return of fugitive slaves was

OLD SENATE CHAMBER IN THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON
Occupied by the Senate from 1828 until 1859.[1]

also another sore grievance to the South, while the North had become more and more incensed at the continuance of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

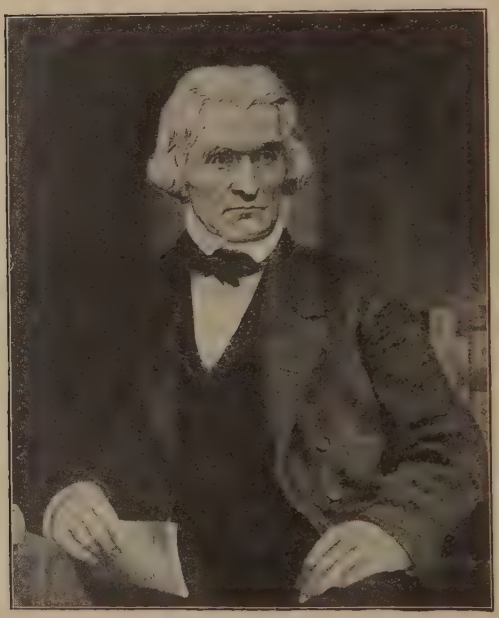
3. The "Omnibus Bill."—Regardless of party affiliations, sectional lines began to be drawn over these issues. Members of Congress from the slave states were prac-

[1] The Senate removed to its quarters in the north marble wing on January 4, 1859, leaving its old chamber to be occupied by the Supreme Court. The illustration shows the chamber as it appears to-day, with the seats of the justices of the Supreme Court in the right background.

tically unanimous in forcing their demands, and Whigs and Democrats who were opposed to granting any further concessions to the slavocracy were as firmly united against these demands. The North did not believe that the South would ever act upon the threat of secession; and the South did not believe that the North would oppose the withdrawal of the Southern states from the Union should the time come when in their judgment such a withdrawal was necessary. Universally in the South the belief was entertained that the inhabitants of the Northern states were so wedded to money-making that they would not be turned aside from this purpose for any higher issues. Some of the older men in Congress, however, did not share this delusion. They knew that if a struggle between the two sections should ever come, it would be of such proportions as to strain the nation to its utmost.

Among these was Henry Clay, who again saw a way to avoid the difficulties besetting the government. The measures he proposed were first grouped into a bill popularly known as the "Omnibus Bill," on account of the number of provisions it contained. These were (1) that California should be admitted as a free state; (2) that the remaining territory obtained from Mexico should be organized into the territories of Utah and New Mexico, without any reference to slavery, leaving that question to be settled by future events; (3) that Texas be paid ten million dollars to relinquish her claims upon New Mexico.

The other two measures, which were added in separate bills, were that the slave trade should be abolished in the District of Columbia, but that Congress should promise not to interfere elsewhere with slavery or interstate slave trade; and that the South be granted an effective fugitive slave law.



JOHN C. CALHOUN

The compromise measures found strong supporters, and also strong opponents. It was soon discovered that the bill could not be passed as a whole, and it was divided. In the debate Clay, Calhoun and Webster each made his last great speech. Clay and Webster favored the bill, but Calhoun opposed it as not granting enough to the South. Webster's speech, made on the seventh of March, was one of the greatest efforts of his life, and, measured by its political effect, the most momentous in his career. Though he had always been an

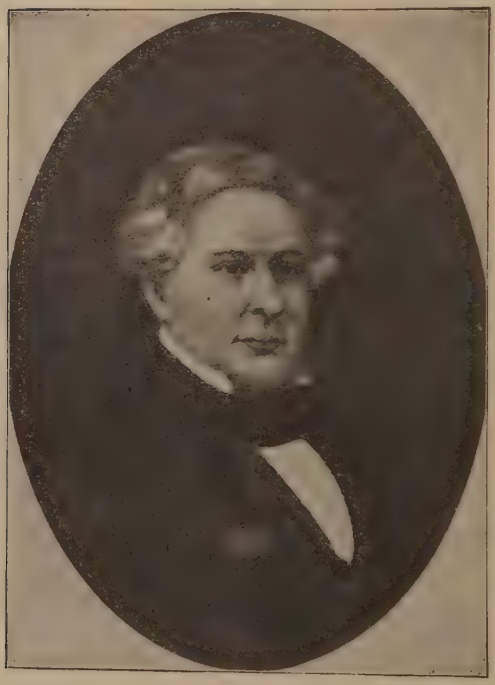
earnest opponent of slavery, he now favored Clay's measures; first, because he was devoted to the Union and its preservation and feared for its safety; second, because he believed that the nature of the country was such that slavery could never be introduced into New Mexico with profit, and consequently that restrictive measures concerning it were unnecessary. The speech had great influence in securing the passage of the com-

INTERIOR OF CALHOUN'S OFFICE

promise measures, but it exasperated the anti-slavery party and greatly disappointed Webster's constituents. Seward and Chase opposed any compromise and argued for the admission of California without reference to the other measures, and in this they were supported by other prominent anti-slavery men.

4. Death of the President.—President Taylor opposed the compromise and favored the immediate

admission of California. Had he lived, this policy would undoubtedly have succeeded; but he died on July 9. Fillmore was an advocate of the compromise. Furthermore, delegates from a number of Southern states met in Nashville for the purpose of preventing any further encroachments of the North upon the Southern states. While this convention attracted but little attention in the South, it caused general alarm in the North. Clay labored as he had never done before for this measure and for preservation of the Union. Says one, "The speeches of Clay stand like forest giants of Unionism, about which raged the winds of Sectionalism." [1] All influences combined to secure a favorable vote upon each



MILLARD FILLMORE

[1] Sparks, *United States*, vol. ii.

of Clay's measures, and the impending crisis was once more postponed.

490. Fugitive Slave Law.—The compromise seemed for a time to allay partisan strife, but the fires were only smoldering. Clay, Webster and other leading advocates of these measures realized this fact, and used all their influence to prevent agitation of any phase of the slavery question. In this they were only partially successful, owing to the irritation caused by the Fugitive Slave Law. This law was drawn by Mason of Virginia, and was unnecessarily drastic. The execution of the law was placed in the hands of United States marshals to be appointed by United States courts. A negro could be remanded into slavery on testimony of two witnesses, and was not allowed to give evidence in his

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE

favor or to have a trial by jury, and a marshal was to be fined a thousand dollars if he allowed a negro whom he had arrested to escape. The cruelty with which this law was enforced led several of the Northern states to enact personal liberty laws, some of which were in direct violation of the United States law and also of the Constitution. Herein the South was treated to an application of the doctrine of state rights which she had never anticipated and which she did not relish. The Fugitive Slave Law caused the "Underground Railroad" to flourish and expand, and in spite of all efforts to enforce the law the number of fugitives increased rather than diminished. All of this tended to irritate the South, and the animosities thus aroused continued to increase from year to year.

491. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.—While the compromise measures were attracting the attention of the country, a treaty was negotiated with Great Britain which has since become more widely known than any other diplomatic transaction for the half-century following. This was the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, negotiated by Mr. John M. Clayton, secretary of state, and Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, the British minister to the United States. It provided for the joint control by the United States and Great Britain of a ship canal to be constructed across the Isthmus of Nicaragua or Panama, as the case might be; and also included an agreement that neither nation should establish colonies in the Cen-

tral American states. The treaty became a constant source of irritation between the countries, but notwithstanding this, it continued in force until 1901, when it was abrogated by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (See *Index*).

492. Uncle Tom's Cabin.—In 1852 *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe, appeared. This was a work purporting to set forth the moral, social and domestic life of the negroes under slavery. It drew vivid pictures of the life in the South, which were presented in such a realistic manner as to awaken the sympathies of all who read the work. Within two years over three hundred thousand copies of this book had been sold, and it exerted a powerful influence in the free states. Without it, the Fugitive Slave Law might possibly have been enforced, but with it, the Federal statute became a rope of sand. The boys who read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852 became the voters in 1860 and the soldiers in the Civil War. Doubtless they were actuated in their political and military life by sentiments awakened by this book. Probably no other work of fiction ever exerted such a broad influence upon the political and civil institutions of a nation.

493. Change in Parties.—At the election of Taylor the country was in a very prosperous condition, and there was no seeming reason why the Whigs should not continue in power for a number of administrations; yet for a second time they had gone before the country without

a well-defined policy, and a second time their president had died in office, thus having the policy of the administration changed. The Compromise of 1850 allayed excitement, and in the elections of 1852 the Whigs and Free-soilers both lost ground. At the national convention both parties seemed afraid of great leaders. The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire and William R. King of Alabama. Both were men of excellent character, but neither had wide reputation. The Whigs nominated General Scott and W. A. Graham of North Carolina. Scott's only claim to the nomination was the success of his campaign in Mexico. Both parties approved the compromise measures of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Law. The Free-soil party nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire. In the election the Democrats carried all but four states, and secured a majority in both houses of Congress. However, Pierce's popular majority was less than sixty thousand. With this election the Whig party organization disappeared.

MRS. STOWE'S HOUSE, BRUNSWICK, MAINE
The house in which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was written.

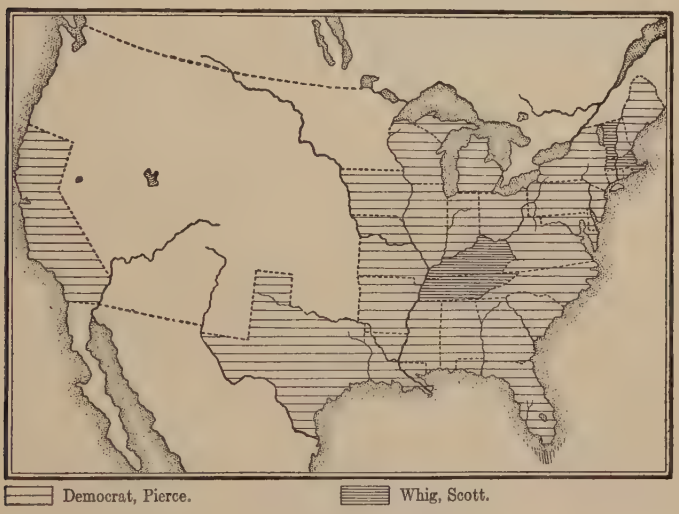
494. Kansas-Nebraska Bill.—The year 1853 was one of political quiet. All but the extreme Abolitionists had apparently accepted the compromise measures as a final settlement of the slavery question, and President Pierce in his inaugural promised to stand by these measures and to steer the government clear of any further slavery agitation. The country was universally prosperous and the people were contented to lay politics aside and to apply their energies to the various occupations of life. But no sooner did President Pierce assume the duties of his office than his indecision and lack of executive ability became apparent. "No one could deny that he had grown less by his elevation, like a little statue on a great pedestal." He appointed William L. Marcy of New York secretary of state, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi secretary of war. Davis was one of the strongest pro-slavery advocates of the South. Though a New England man, Pierce was strongly pro-slavery in his sympathies. In addition to this, for a number of years the pro-slavery faction in

WINFIELD SCOTT

Congress had succeeded in securing the appointment of Southern men to the vacant judgeships in the Federal courts. Most of these men were in sympathy with the pro-slavery sentiment, and many of them had secured their appointment because of this fact rather than on account of any special fitness for the positions.

Instead of regarding as a warning the narrow majority of popular vote with which Pierce was elected, the Democrats seemed to look upon their victory as assuring them of a long lease of power. The ardent pro-slavery leaders from the South were able to command enough Northern votes to give them a majority in both branches of Congress, and they felt that the time had arrived for them to hazard their all upon a bold stroke to perpetuate their power. As we have already seen (Section 476), with the admission of Texas and the termination of the contest following the Mexican cession the opportunity for creating new states in the slave territory had ceased, but there was still an extensive territory yet to be organized into free states. Unless at least a portion of this territory could be organized in the interests of slavery, the pro-slavery faction in the Senate was bound to be in the minority. The Southern leaders realized the situation, and also that they must win under present conditions or not at all. From their point of view the case was desperate, and they were warranted in taking a great risk in order to secure a permanent control of the Senate.

To the west and north of Missouri and Iowa lay that vast stretch of country from which the states of Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Colorado, Montana and a portion of Wyoming have since been formed. This territory was secured through the Louisiana purchase, was still unorganized, and by the Missouri Com-



THE ELECTION OF 1852

promise was consecrated to freedom. Several attempts had already been made to organize that portion west of Missouri and Iowa into the Territory of Platte, but each time the attempt had signally failed. In 1852 a bill was presented to organize the same region into the Territory of Nebraska, but this was defeated in the Senate. In 1854 a similar bill was presented in the Senate by

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who was chairman of the Committee on Territories. The bill said nothing about slavery in the new territory, and in his report Douglas stated that the committee did not feel called upon to discuss that question, since it had been settled by Congress, adding that the committee construed that part of the Compromise of 1850 referring to territories to mean:

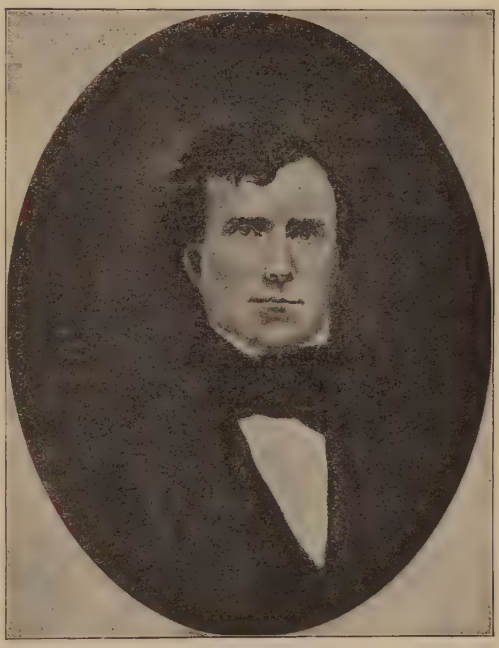
"That all questions pertaining to slavery in the territories and the new states to be formed therefrom are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein by their appropriate representatives, to be chosen by them for that purpose."

The bill was recommitted for some changes, and while these were pending, Dixon of Kentucky, who was Henry Clay's successor, gave notice that when the bill was again introduced he should move to amend by repealing so much of the Missouri Compromise as referred to the introduction of slavery into said territory. On hearing this motion, Douglas prepared a new bill which provided for the erection of two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, the former to extend from the thirty-seventh to the fortieth degree of latitude, and the latter to embrace the region north of that parallel. This bill contained the following provision in regard to slavery in the territories:

"That all questions pertaining to slavery in the territories and the new states to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein through their appropriate representatives."

The bill also provided that all cases involving the title to slaves and questions of their personal freedom should

be referred to local courts, with right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, and that the fugitive slave laws should be executed in the territory. The doctrine of "squatter sovereignty" was launched.[1]



FRANKLIN PIERCE

The bill delighted the South, but it astounded the North, where for a generation the Missouri Compromise had been considered a compact as sacred as the Constitution itself. The discussion of the bill brought the slavery question before the entire country and it was agitated with more intense feeling than ever

[1] Stephen A. Douglas is generally credited with the origin of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, but he probably obtained the idea from General Cass, who, in 1846, in reply to a letter asking his opinion on the Wilmot Proviso, said:

"I am strongly impressed with the opinion that a great change has been going on in the public mind upon this subject [the Wilmot Proviso], in my own as well as others', and that doubts are resolving themselves into convictions that the principle it involves should be kept out of the national legislature and left to the people of the confederacy in their respective local governments."

before. In spite of strenuous opposition in the Senate, where Seward, Chase, Sumner, Hamlin and other noted anti-slavery men argued against it, the bill passed both branches of Congress. The vote in the Senate was significant. From the slave states there were twelve Whigs and fifty-seven Democrats for the measure, and from the free states, forty-four Democrats in favor of it. Against it were ninety-one votes from the free states. Forty-four of these were Whigs, forty-four Democrats, and three Free-soilers. The vote in the House was one hundred thirteen for, to one hundred against, the measure. The Nebraska Bill has been characterized by Alexander Johnston as "the greatest political blunder in American history." Rhodes says of it:

"It sealed the doom of the Whig party; it caused the formation of the Republican party on the principle of no extension of slavery; it roused Lincoln and gave a bent to his great political ambition; it made the Fugitive Slave Law a dead letter at the North; it caused the Germans to become Republicans; it lost the Democrats their hold on New England; it made the Northwest Republican; it led to the downfall of the Democratic party."

The immediate effect upon Kansas was to urge thither settlers from both the slave and free states, each section striving to gain the majority of colonists. At first the advantages were with the slave states. Missouri adjoined the territory, and other slave states were much nearer than the free states from which emigration could be induced. Emigrant societies were established in all Northern states, and provided money, supplies and transportation for all who were willing to remove to

the new territory. The slaveholders, being first on the ground, preëmpted the land along the eastern border, and with the aid of men from Missouri soon prevented Free-soil settlers from crossing the boundary line. Finally Missouri forbade emigrants from the free states crossing her territory, and they were obliged to go around through Iowa and Nebraska. Nevertheless, the energy and resources of the free states were far in excess of those in the South, and settlers from the North continued to pour into the territory. At first all local elections were dominated and carried by armed men from Missouri, who entered the territory, voted, and then retired. Seventeen hundred of these men voted for the first delegate to Congress, and over five thousand of them for delegates to the first territorial legislature. Between these lawless characters and the Free-soil settlers there were many skirmishes, and for four years Kansas was in a state of war and subjected to all the outrages of border ruffianism.

In our entire history no greater political outrages have ever been committed. The legislature elected by Missouri votes met at Pawnee in July, 1855, adopted the laws of Missouri entire, and added several original statutes fixing the death penalty for a number of offenses against slavery. All through the spring and summer the border ruffians of Missouri, aided by bands of reckless adventurers from South Carolina, Mississippi and other slave states, attempted to drive the free state settlers

from the territory, and the cry of "Bleeding Kansas" was heard throughout the North. During this time the territory became practically divided into slave and free districts.

In September a free state convention of properly elected delegates met at Topeka and repudiated the laws adopted by the legislature, elected a delegate to Congress and framed a state constitution. The following January these settlers elected state officers under this constitution. President Pierce now interfered. He recognized the original territorial legislature as legal, declared the act of free state settlers to be an act of rebellion and placed United States troops at the disposal of the governor to enforce the pro-slavery laws.

CHARLES SUMNER

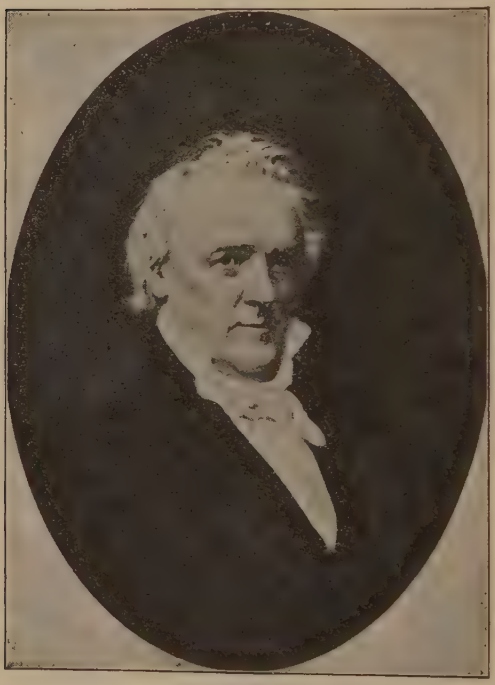
During the debate upon Kansas affairs Charles Sumner, senator from Massachusetts, made a strong argument in defense of the free state party, in which he

severely attacked some of the senators from the slave states for their relation to the affair. While sitting in his seat in the Senate Chamber after the body had adjourned for the day, Sumner was brutally assaulted by Preston S. Brooks, a representative from South Carolina, and so injured that he was unable to resume his seat for over four years. This unwarranted attack aroused the greatest indignation through the North.

495. The Ostend Manifesto.—Soon after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, President Pierce directed the United States ministers at London, Paris and Madrid to meet at some convenient place and discuss the feasibility of annexing Cuba to the United States. They met at Ostend, October 18, 1854, and drew up a report known as the Ostend Manifesto. This report recommended that the United States ought at once to purchase Cuba and stated that one hundred twenty million dollars would be a fair price to pay for the island. Had the report stopped here, it might not have attracted general attention, but it went on to state that if Spain refused to sell Cuba the United States would be justified in wresting it from that country by force. This portion of the report came near severing diplomatic relations with Spain, besides arousing considerable adverse sentiment throughout Europe. The Ostend Manifesto, with a couple of filibustering expeditions which had sailed from Southern ports against Cuba and the South American States, increased the agitation in the free states against

the slave power, which the North now generally believed was attempting by these measures to extend slave territory.

496. The Campaign of 1856.—The presidential campaign of 1856 turned upon the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and questions growing out of it. It crystallized parties along new lines, and in this sense was the beginning of important political changes.



JAMES BUCHANAN

1. The Know-Nothings.—The Know-Nothing or American Party began in 1852 as a secret organization, whose purpose was to prevent the easy naturalization of foreigners and the election of citizens of foreign birth to office. They received their name from the repeated declaration of the members that they knew nothing about the organization. In 1854 the Know-Nothings

came out as the American Party, with the campaign cry, "America for Americans," and succeeded in electing a number of members to the House of Representatives. After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill they were joined by some disaffected Southern Whigs, who were not willing to go as far as the Democrats in forcing the extension of slavery, and also by some Northern Democrats who were unwilling to follow the pro-slavery wing of the party. In 1856 the American Party met in national convention and nominated Millard Fillmore and Andrew D. Jackson of Tennessee. The adopted platform called for residence of twenty-one years before naturalization and condemned the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. About one-fourth of the delegates withdrew because the convention refused to endorse the right of Congress to reëstablish the Missouri Compromise.

2. The Democratic Party.—The Democrats met in convention at Cincinnati, June 2. They adopted a strict constructionist platform, condemned Know-Nothingism and approved the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and "squatter sovereignty" in place of the Missouri Compromise. During Pierce's administration, Buchanan had been minister to England and was considered the most available candidate, because of his long experience in public affairs, and especially because he had not been in any way related to the Kansas-Nebraska affair. John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky was nominated for vice-president.

3. The Republican Party.—The most important

event in this campaign was the appearance of a new party, founded upon principles that were to hold it together and give it control of the government for more than a half-century. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise had disorganized the Whigs. Most of those in the Southern states joined the Democrats, while those North took the name of Nebraska Men or Anti-Nebraska Men. The Nebraska Men were soon joined by the Free-soil Democrats, and together with the Know-Nothings they gained control of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-fourth Congress. In 1856 these combined factions took the name of Republicans and were joined by the Free-soil party. The first national Republican convention met in Philadelphia in June, and

JOHN CHARLES FREMONT
[From an old engraving.]

nominated John C. Fremont of California and William L. Dayton of New Jersey. They adopted a loose constructionist platform, declared in favor of internal improvements and of the right and duty of Congress to

THE ELECTION OF 1856

prohibit slavery and polygamy in the territories, and to admit Kansas as a free state. They denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. One writer has said that the new party—

"got its programme from the Free-soilers, whom it bodily absorbed; its radical and aggressive spirit from the Abolitionists, whom it received without liking; its liberal views upon Constitutional questions from the Whigs, who constituted both in numbers and influence its commanding element, and its popular impulses from the Democrats, who did not leave behind them when they joined it their faith in their old party ideals."[1]

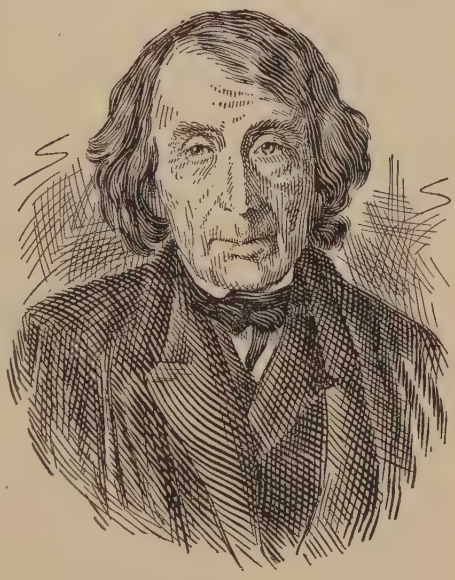
[1] Wilson, *Division and Reunion*.

It had a mission; it embraced young, active and aggressive men, and its organization marked the dawn of a new political era.

Buchanan and Breckenridge received one hundred seventy-four votes, Fremont and Dayton one hundred fourteen, and Fillmore the vote of Maryland. The vote was as follows: Buchanan, 1,838,169; Fremont, 1,343,264, and Fillmore, 874,534. The Republicans carried all the Northern states except Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois and California. Buchanan lacked nearly four hundred thousand of a majority of the popular vote.

497. Dred Scott.—Dred Scott was a slave owned by Doctor Emerson, who was a surgeon in the United States army. Originally Emerson lived in Missouri. In 1835 he was transferred to Rock Island, Ill., and the following year to Fort Snelling, in what is now Minnesota, but then in an unorganized territory which under the Missouri Compromise was exempt from slavery. Scott accompanied his master, and while at Fort Snelling married, with Emerson's consent, a negro woman whom the Doctor had also purchased. Two children were born to them, one on free soil and the other in Saint Louis, to which Doctor Emerson had returned, and where he still held Scott and his family as slaves, finally selling them to a citizen of New York. Scott then sued for his freedom on the facts as stated, bringing suit in the state circuit court of the County of Saint Louis. He obtained judgment in his favor.

The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, of which Roger B. Taney was then chief justice. The decision was made public soon after Buchanan's inauguration. In it the chief justice, who was sustained by a majority of the court, reversed the decision of the lower court, then went on to declare that in the minds of its framers the Constitution gave the negro "no rights which a white man was bound to respect"; that a negro could not become a citizen, hence could not sue in a court of law; that a slaveholder had the right to take his slaves, as any other property, into any part of the public domain, where they were under the same protection as other classes of property, and that all laws to the contrary were counter to the Constitution, therefore null and void.



ROGER BROOKE TANEY

This decision opened all the territories to slavery without restriction and created intense excitement. Had it

been rendered previous to the election, it would probably have reversed the result. At the South it was hailed with the greatest satisfaction; at the North it was unhesitatingly denounced as an unwarranted interpretation of the law. The President gave it his hearty approval. All in all, it was a substantial victory for the pro-slavery power.

498. The Lecompton Constitution.—The strife in Kansas continued. Pierce had sent three governors to the territory and each had failed. Buchanan sent Walker, a Southern man of marked ability, but his success was little better. Against Walker's consent and advice, the legislature, sitting at Lecompton, framed a pro-slavery constitution, agreeing to submit only the pro-slavery clause of the instrument to the vote of the people. The vote was to be on the constitution with or without slavery; so the people had no opportunity to reject the constitution as a whole. The pro-slavery clause was accepted by a large vote of Missouri electors imported for the occasion. On account of its illegality the free state settlers took no part in the election. Regardless of these proceedings, President Buchanan recommended the immediate admission of Kansas under the constitution and declared that she was already as much a slave state as Georgia or Mississippi.

The appearance of the Lecompton Constitution in the Senate was the signal for a change of front for some of the Northern Democrats. Of these Douglas was the

leader. He had been instrumental in bringing about the conditions in Kansas, but he well knew that he could not vote for the Lecompton Constitution and retain the support of Illinois. He wished to be reëlected to the Senate, and above all, to secure the next Democratic nomination for the presidency. He chose what he considered the less of two evils and opposed the Constitution. The bill admitting Kansas under it passed the Senate, but was defeated in the House. A substitute bill was then passed, submitting the entire constitution to the people of Kansas, with a provision that, should it be accepted, the state would receive a large grant of government land; also with the threatened penalty that, should the constitution be rejected, the state would be refused admission under another. The people of Kansas were neither to be bribed nor intimidated, and at the election they rejected the constitution by a majority of

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

over ten thousand, and all chances of making Kansas a slave state were lost. Her admission as a free state was delayed until after the withdrawal of Southern members from Congress in 1861.

499. The Douglas-Lincoln Debate.—Douglas hoped by his course to retain the following of the Northern Democrats and before the coming presidential election to regain that of the South. But the disaffection in Illinois was widespread. In 1858 the Republicans chose Abraham Lincoln as their candidate for the Senate, and during the summer a public debate occurred between Lincoln and Douglas, the Democratic candidate. This debate is of more than passing interest, since it was entirely given to the discussion of the issues that were finally settled in the Civil War. The opening speech was made by Lincoln, who began with his now famous statement:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1857

"'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of absolute extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South."

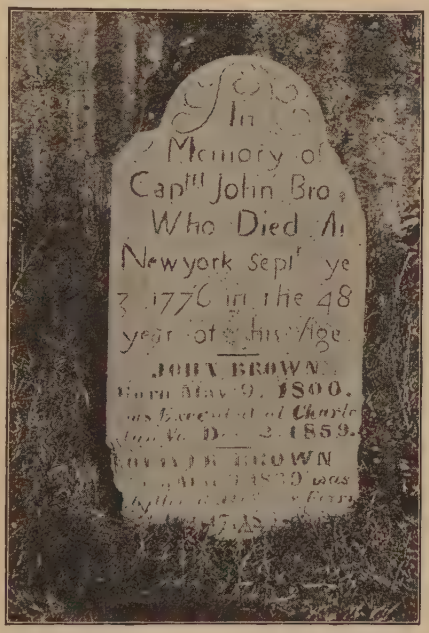
As Lincoln's advisers had prophesied, Douglas attacked this statement with great energy and held Lincoln up as a disunionist; but Lincoln saw into the future farther and more clearly than any of his contemporaries, and held to his course. In the second debate Douglas propounded to Lincoln a series of questions, the answering of which he thought would involve Lincoln in contradictions, but in this he was mistaken. The questions were answered in a clear and straightforward manner, and in turn Lincoln propounded to Douglas four questions, the answering of which involved him in a serious political dilemma. The crucial question was: "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" Previous to the debate, Lincoln remarked to a friend that if Douglas answered *yes* to the question he could never be elected because he would alienate the slaveholding states; if he answered *no* he could not be reëlected senator from free Illinois. Douglas answered *yes* and, though elected to the Senate, was

afterward repudiated by the South in his contest for the presidency. For the South, disappointed with the results of their squatter-sovereignty theories in Kansas, saw that their only hope lay in the Dred Scott decision allowing them to take their slaves anywhere in the country. If a territory could prohibit slavery, this hope would be lost; hence the dilemma which Douglas faced.

JOHN BROWN ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION
[From a painting.]

500. John Brown's Raid. John Brown was a native of Connecticut. In 1855, with his four sons, he removed to Kansas for the avowed purpose of engaging in the anti-slavery contest. By nature he was intense and fanatical. In the course of the struggle in Kansas he went so far as to become outlawed, and during the time also con-

ceived the notion of freeing the slaves through a negro insurrection. He returned to New England, where he obtained money from sympathizers with the abolition movement (those contributing supposing the money was to be used in Kansas), and with it purchased arms. In July, 1859, with a small band of followers, Brown seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, liberated a number of slaves and arrested a number of white men. Troops were immediately sent to quell the disturbance. Most of Brown's followers, including two of his sons, were killed, and he and the others were captured, tried for treason and executed.



GRAVE OF JOHN BROWN, NORTH ELBA, NEW YORK

During his trial and execution Brown maintained the greatest fortitude and gained the sympathy of thousands in the free states. The incident filled the South with the greatest alarm, for, of all dangers, that of a negro insurrection was by them the most dreaded. The

South believed that Brown was typical of all Abolitionists, and judged the North accordingly. The Southern members in Congress, and their partisans as well, declared that John Brown's raid was the legitimate outgrowth of the teachings of the Republican party and that that party should be broken up. However, their attacks upon the party only strengthened its ranks.

501. Campaign of 1860.—Buchanan's administration was strongly pro-slavery. He surrounded himself with advisers from the South and in every way favored the slave states. In each message he had urged the acquisition of Cuba and a protectorate over certain Mexican and South American states, until the North was led to believe that he was using his office in the interests of acquiring territory for the slave states, and before the middle of his term he had made his renomination impossible.

1. The Democratic Party.—When Douglas returned to the Senate, the Southern leaders proceeded to read him out of the Democratic party. Had they realized that in so doing they would alienate the Northern Democrats the attempt might not have been made, but when once launched, the movement could not be recalled, and the result was a division of the party along sectional lines. This was deplored by the best men of all the parties, since by this act the last link uniting the North to the South was severed. The national Democratic convention met in Charleston, S. C., April 23. Charles-

ton was selected as the place of meeting because South Carolina was the most dissatisfied of all the Southern states, and it was hoped that by holding the national convention within her borders this dissatisfaction could be allayed. However, in this the party was mistaken. The South was thoroughly alarmed and mistrusted many of the Northern Democrats, and this feeling was intensified by the anxiety of the Northern delegates to impress upon their Southern colleagues the extent of the anti-slavery sentiment throughout the North.

JOHN BROWN'S FORT, HARPER'S FERRY

The convention was soon in a factional fight. The Southern delegates demanded a plank in the platform pledging the party to the enforcement of the Dred Scott decision and to the acquisition of Cuba. These demands being granted, they were not particular about candidates. The Northern delegates were willing to accede to

the demand for the acquisition of Cuba on terms honorable to the United States and just to Spain, but they knew that to accede to the other request meant utter rout in the free states. They also wanted to nominate Douglas, as he was considered the only man who could defeat the Republicans. When the Southern delegates found that their demands would not be granted they withdrew. The convention was then unable to nominate candidates, as the rules required a two-thirds vote in order to nominate, so it adjourned to meet in Baltimore, June 18. When the convention reassembled, several new Douglas delegations were admitted, whereupon the few remaining Southern delegates withdrew. The convention then nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia.

The Southern delegates organized a new convention in Charleston, adopted a platform containing the planks rejected by the regular convention, and adjourned to meet in Richmond, June 11. On reassembling, they nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon.

2. The Constitutional-Union Party.—This party was composed of members from the American party and a few malcontents from each of the two older parties. It held its national convention in Baltimore, May 19, and adopted an evasive platform, declaring its principles to be "The Constitution of the country, the union of the states and the enforcement of the laws." It nomi-

nated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts.

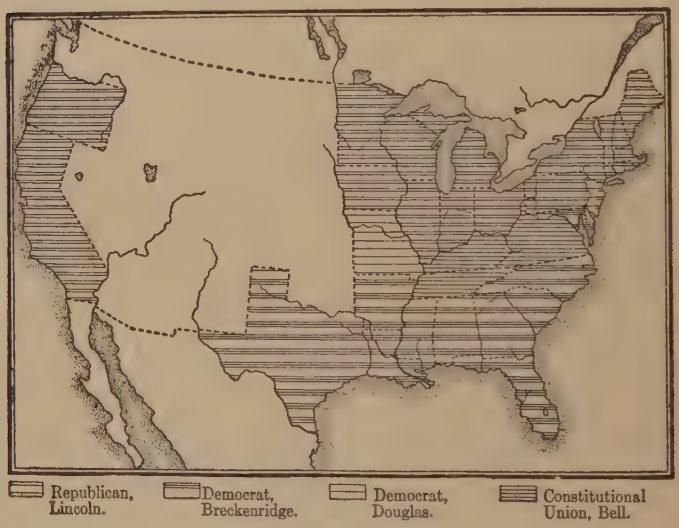
3. The Republican Party.—The Republicans had continued to gain in strength and influence. Their national convention met in Chicago, May 16, and adopted a loose constructionist platform, which declared their belief in the freedom of all men, denounced Democratic threats of disunion and the administration's dealings with Kansas. They declared that freedom was the normal condition in the territories, which Congress was bound to protect and defend, and pronounced in favor of internal improvements, a protective tariff and the homestead bill. They nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine.

LINCOLN HOMESTEAD, SPRINGFIELD

The residence of Abraham Lincoln from 1839 till his departure for Washington in 1861. The tree in the foreground was planted by Lincoln.

There were now four parties in the field, and together they represented every shade of political opinion. Two platforms were negative, and two positive. The Constitutional-Unionists sought to divert public attention

from the slavery question by presenting the abstract dogma of saving the Union; the Douglas Democrats sought to postpone the same discussion by leaving its settlement with the Supreme Court of the United States or anywhere but with the Democratic party; the Breckenridge Democrats proposed to extend slavery into the



THE ELECTION OF 1860

territories at any cost, and the Republicans proposed to exclude slavery from the territories at any cost. As the campaign progressed it became evident that the Breckenridge Democrats had resolved upon secession if the Republicans were successful. This diverted many of the Douglas Democrats to the Republican ranks. The Northern states accepted the challenge and united on

the issue. At the election Lincoln and Hamlin received one hundred eighty votes; Douglas and Johnson, twelve; Bell and Everett, thirty-nine, and Breckenridge and Lane, seventy-two. The popular vote stood: Republicans, 1,866,352: Douglas Democrats, 1,375,157; Brecken-

FORT MARION, SAINT AUGUSTINE
Begun by Spaniards about 1656, finished a century later; later repaired but scarcely altered by United States government, and still used as a fortress.

ridge Democrats, 845,763; Constitutional-Unionists, 589,581.

Breckenridge carried all the Southern states except four. Missouri went for Douglas, and Virginia, Kentucky and Maryland for Bell. The Republicans carried all of the free states, and polled a vote of over twenty-six thousand in Virginia, Maryland and Delaware. In the other Southern states they had no ticket. Douglas had a few supporters in the South, and Breckenridge a few in the North. No candidate had a majority of the

popular vote, but Lincoln and Hamlin, having a majority of the electoral vote, were duly chosen. Politically the extension of slave territory was settled. The next resort was to be to the arbitrament of arms.

QUESTIONS

Why did the Whigs enter upon the campaign without a definite party platform? What causes combined to give the Whigs the election of 1848?

Why did California form a constitution excluding slavery? Was Webster's position on the exclusion of slavery from New Mexico well taken? Why did his speech on the compromise alienate his constituents? Was Calhoun justified in opposing the compromise?

Was the Fugitive Slave Law constitutional? If so, why was it so strongly opposed in the free states? Why did *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have such a strong influence in the North?

What caused the defeat of the Whigs in 1852? Why was Pierce nominated by the Democrats? What did the popular vote at this election show in regard to the people's opinion on the extension of slavery?

Why did the pro-slavery faction in Congress choose Pierce's administration for securing an extension of slave territory? From their point of view, was the decision wise?

Why was the organization of the Territory of Platte delayed? What were the points of difference between the first and second bills presented by Douglas? Did the Compromise of 1850 repeal that part of the Missouri Compromise referring to the extension of slave territory? Why?

Could such political outrages as occurred in Kansas in 1854 and 1855 occur now in any part of the United States? Why? Was President Pierce legally right in declaring the Free State Convention in Kansas an act of rebellion? Why?

What caused the formation of the Republican party in 1856? How did this party differ from the Republican party of Jefferson's time? Why did the later Republicans poll such a large vote in their first national campaign?

On what grounds did the free states oppose the Dred Scott decision?

Why did Douglas change front on the Lecompton Constitution? Did John Brown's raid have any influence upon the Charleston Convention? If so, what? Had the Democrats been united in 1860, would they have carried the election? Why?

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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Event	Date
Discovery of gold in California	Jan. 24, 1848
Omnibus Bill proposed	1849
Death of President Tyler; compromise measures passed; Clayton-Bulwer Treaty signed; Fugitive Slave Law passed	1850
Uncle Tom's Cabin published; Franklin Pierce elected president	1852
Kansas-Nebraska Bill proposed and passed	1854

Event	Date
Ostend Manifesto issued	Oct., 1854
First Kansas constitution adopted	July, 1855
Kansas free state constitution adopted	Sept., 1855
Kansas free state officers elected	Jan., 1856
The slave state government in Kansas recognized by President Pierce; assault upon Charles Sumner; James Buchanan elected president; Republican party organized.	1856
Dred Scott decision announced; the Lecompton Constitution adopted in Kansas	1857
The Douglas-Lincoln debates	1858
John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, Va.,	July, 1859
Division of the Democratic party; Lincoln elected	1860

DATES TO BE REMEMBERED

1789.....Inauguration of national government
1793.....Whitney's invention of cotton gin
1795.....Signing of Jay's treaty with England
1798.....Alien and Sedition Laws passed
1799.....Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions
1803.....Louisiana purchased from France
1804.....Lewis and Clark expedition begun
1807.....Fulton's invention of steamboat
1812.....Opening of second war with England
1814..... Meeting of Hartford Convention; signing of the Treaty of Ghent
1820.....Missouri Compromise adopted
1823.....Monroe Doctrine proclaimed
1830.....Baltimore & Ohio steam railroad opened
1832.....Nullification episode in South Carolina
1842.....Webster-Ashburton Treaty signed
1844.....First telegraph line completed
1846.....Beginning of war with Mexico
1848.....Discovery of gold in California
1850.....Compromise concerning slavery; signing of Clayton-Bulwer Treaty
1854..... Passage of Kansas-Nebraska Bill; formation of the present Republican party
1857..... Dred Scott decision announced
1859.....John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry
1860..... Abraham Lincoln elected president

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